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CONTENTS

- 2 EDITORIAL
- 4 LETTERS
- 10 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES
- 13 COLUMN: BARBARA AMIEL
- 14 CANADA
Lester Bouchard returns to the Commons, BCI Clinton praises Canada during a two-day visit, a backlash against native land claims, young Quebecers support sovereignty—but worry more about the economy; prison reform gains in victory
- 28 WORLD
The U.S. capital is on the brink of insolvency
- 36 BUSINESS
New Brunswick quickly projects a budget surplus, while Alberta forecasts a deficit, income and opportunities for Canada's autism, agricultural biotechnology breaks new kit into the Saskatchewan economy.
- 45 THE BOTTOM LINE:
DEROBT MALLORY
- 47 THE NATION'S BUSINESS:
PETER C. NIEMAN
- 48 COVER
- 54 LIFE
The murder of a schizophrenic tells her tragic tale, O.J. Simpson's murder trial grips Buffalo, N.Y., is a Nova Scotia farmer the world's strongest man?
- 66 SPORTS WATCH:
BRENT FRYNNE
- 70 ENVIRONMENT
Canada is performing poorly in the war against global warming
- 73 PEOPLE
- 74 THEATRE
- 83 TELEVISION
An attempt to explain that crazy little thing called love.
- 85 BOOKS
Doom, sex and Anne Nin, Salman Rushdie's new short-story collection.
- 88 POTHEINSHAN

Blown away

48 Canada's middle class is rebelling against the rapid increase of its tax burden. And by increasing the tax load of the middle class, governments run the risk of polarizing society between lower-income Canadians, who want to preserve social program spending, and the middle class, who are demanding cuts and more accountability from political leaders.



The Quebec jitters

30 While politicians in Britain and elsewhere abroad largely see the Quebec referendum debate as a replay of its old script, the treatment conveys recognition—and puts a price on—the risk factor

Tommy paints the town

74 Born in 1969, Towney has gone through many incarnations—from rock extravaganza to film, orchestral piece and even a ballet. So has his creator, The Who's Pete Townshend, who has branched out into writing and editing. Now, the venerable rocker is bringing Towney, the stage show, to Toronto.



COVER: STEVE GRANITZ/REUTERS; PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS

Photo Opportunities

The early-evening Northeast Airlines flight was set to leave Detroit, bound for Columbus, Ohio, when an executive traveling from Toronto and partying beyond slumped into his seat, bopping the roof. "I have been travelling all day and still I get in peanuts," moaned the weary Columbus-based salesman for a Canadian company. He had already spent 90 minutes on jet getting to Detroit first. Toronto—45 minutes in the air and 45 minutes on the tarmac waiting for a gate and a plane to open. About 10 minutes later, he'd spent 30 minutes' delay in the concourse waiting for the Northeast Airlines flight to Columbus, more peanuts and the completeness of a voyage by air that took almost as long as it would by car. So pass air travel in the age of elongated nonstop flights and closed skies.

If anything lasting comes out of President Clinton's 200-hour voyage to the White House last week, it was probably the new air agreement with Canada that will open the skies for the salesman from Columbus and millions of North American frequent flyers. Regular contenders can only hope it will lead to more direct flights between cities, fewer waits on hard benches—and a shaysy jet in some connections.

Christine Ansis Clinton at press

As for the presidential visit to Ottawa, the current says that this was largely a glacial opportunity was one first did not happen at Clinton's request, criteria were based on Lucien Bouchard's meeting with Clinton, thereby denying the expanded leader the opportunity to imply Washington's acceptance of his cause. What people did get to see were plenty of pictures of Clinton with his newest international buddy, a beaming Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. After seeing to Basso and Roling and Rio, and after 18 months in office, Clinton was finally hosting the American President—the man with which, he once wanted, he would not let. As if making

For lost time, there was Christian joking with Clinton in Parliament, Clinton teasing Clinton in Hall, Charbonneau laughing with Clinton at a news conference. In private, Charbonneau hosted Clinton to an intimate lunch at the Canal 130 restaurant, overlooking the Radisson Canal. Charbonneau even privately shared with sales about a future game of golf with Clinton—but, ever the sceptic, he wondered what the President's handicap was.

The symbolism of Clinton making the power of the proclivity onto the federal side of the ledger in the ongoing debate about Quebec could not be overlooked. Nor could his handling of the NAFTA issue, a major concern for investors with holdings in Quebec. An independent Quebec would have to apply for membership, and last week Clinton declined to give Bouchard any assurances on that point.

The other potent symbolism arose from U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's emergency treatment at the Cinc Hospital for a small bleeding ulcer. In a welcome house for Clinton and Clinton, the doctors stopped the bleeding. And Christopher returned the next day with Clinton to Washington, where he spent the night staying in hospital. (The procedure worked was an endoscopy, in which a tube was put down Christopher's throat into his stomach, after which he was given a drug to stop the bleeding.) By Saturday, while Clinton was out playing golf, Christopher was in home, planning a return to work this week. Asked the odds of the ulcer, Clinton said, "I suppose because the week's diplomacy—well, he didn't get any Cinc's."

Robert Louis



Clinton Asst. Clinton at Canal Bldg; new found beddie



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3

LETTERS

"The real problem with today's journalists," *An American View* when writing in a correspondence whose cover story is entitled "Is dating dead?"

Doreen Spence,
Winnipeg, MB

Canadian pride

Reading about some of the problems giving parliamentary approval for Canada's new flag 30 years ago ("The flag debate," *Opening Notes*, Feb. 28) reminded me of our difficulties in Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T., putting up the flag on Feb. 15, 1985. *Maclean's* published my article on our efforts in your April 17 issue that year. What surprises me now is how much pride we had putting up our flag in spite of the difficulties with the 30° C of the High Arctic in February, along with all the technical problems of climbing an old-assed flagpole, a charter went up from the subarctic, after all, correct when the banner was finally moving over us. I'd like to think there is still a lot of that Canadian pride among us now in spite of our regional differences.

David Flynn,
London, Ont.

Not forgotten

Sometimes, we are lucky to have the presence of such a person in our lives. George Woodcock ("Elegant assassin," *Obituary*, Feb. 12). As you pointed out, Woodcock was an extraordinary man in free individuals leading useful lives if not rewarded by society. When reading his works, one can feel the same reverence for the written and spoken word that he felt. That he is revered and considered a Great Canadian is unquestionable, but he is touched more of us as a measure of the man's dignity, compelling character and unassuming integrity. He will not be forgotten.

Bob Natch,
Riverview, B.C.

In the line of duty

On Feb. 14, 1985, as a police officer I pursued and stopped a stolen car in the rear seat, I found a seven-year-old boy who had been kidnapped by a convicted sexual pedophile ("Sex offenders: Is there a cure?" *Justice*, Feb. 12). He was given five years in prison, but released after serving only two years. Shortly after his release, he was caught again trying to kidnap another child. On Jan. 7, 1990, I stopped a pickup truck and found a four-year-old boy who had been kidnapped. At that kidnapper's trial, he convinced the judge that he was not going to hurt the boy, and was given a month in jail. I have now caught two kidnappers red-handed, and the courts treated them with kid gloves. How do the children and parents deal with the trauma and nightmares knowing the courts are not sensitive to their feelings?

Const. John Kennedy (RMP),
Wrentham Bay, Ont.

'Old news'

Thank you for your review of Brad Fraser's *Four Super Men* ("A trouble with a twist," *Theatre*, Feb. 12). I was wondering, however, why, since the play opened in January in Winnipeg, *Maclean's* only chose to review the play once a bit Toronto? Finally, we in Western Canada find your review very old news. This is an extremely troubling practice, for it makes it appear as if the world begins and ends in Toronto, and all cultural events take place there and nowhere else.

Geoff Asper,
Winnipeg

The love of power

Mr. Inset was happy for the native people of Dordrecht, South Africa, who were able to return home after 30 years of forced exile ("Native home," *World*, Feb. 28). I was also very sad, disturbed and amazed at what people in power can do to other to make language the terror these people felt when the police destroyed their residence and herded them into tracks like cattle to be taken to "tribal homelands." Access to power must be confined to people who are not in love with it.

Sharon Foley,
Toronto, Ont.

Dawson what?

The article on the Canada Games was a nice background to the opening of the events and the town that is Grande Prairie, Alta. ("The Canada Games," *Sports*, Feb. 20). It is sad, however, that an alternate housing spot for athletes is, as you say, in Dawson City, B.C. For one thing, Dawson City is in the Yukone, and just a touch farther than the one-hour drive to Dawson Creek, B.C.

Jane Anne Nagel,
Edmonton

The dating game

As a single, overextended individual of 40 who is looking for a partner, I found your articles accurately described the current dating scene ("Is dating dead?" *Cover*, Feb. 28). Meeting people through a common interest or cause provides the opportunity to get to know them first before deciding whether to go further. Just over five years ago, I started a Sunday brunch group in Ottawa. Many who met there have dated, and there have been a few marriages. The more activities that single people are aware of, the more choices they have and the better chance of meeting someone. Dating in the 1990s is about being aware, creative, proactive and careful.

Mark Hiltz,
Gloucester, Ont.

What crazy day Fred Breuing should attach the machine to "lose those useless services" about how to outfit your desk and find Mr. Right at the espresso bar."

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Justice for all

The recent tragedy that struck Melanie Carpenter's family in British Columbia seems to be a recurrent theme in Canadian jurisprudence ("The prince suspect," *Canada*, Jan. 30). The failure to stop innumerable sexual predators from being released into unsecured situations before they serve their full sentence borders on negligence. Why is the minister of justice campaigning against dark bastions and other intransigent social groups, instead of addressing glaring deficiencies in our system of law enforcement?

Edna Doran,
Sandy Point, Ont.

When are the politicians going to get it? Now that Melanie Carpenter's body has been found, another tragedy will be shrugged off as, "Sorry, the system failed her." When will the minister of justice stop kidding and really get to work for innocent Canadians and just citizens held back here for good?

Michael Desjardins,
Brimley Bay, B.C.

Paying the bills

In his Feb. 6 column, Peter C. Newman quotes Ralph Klein saying: "My style is to run the government the same way I run my house" ("The fiscal gospel according to Klein," *The Nation's Business*). If he applied his ideas for getting rid of the deficit to paying off his mortgage, he would say to his wife: "No more cars, clothes, entertainment, and out doing on food." Nor he is asking the people of Alberta to die. Colleen Klein says her husband's ideology is "tough love." Tough for the ordinary people.

Bel Douglas,
Edmonton

Raising standards

Unfortunately, universities should be open institutions (which has been Canada's philosophy for many years) with a mandate to attract a cross-section of students ("Falling grades for an open-door policy," *Education*, Feb. 13). If we permit universities to arbitrarily raise admission standards to the point that they exclude the hard-core student, then we must reassess postsecondary training and develop alternatives for those students who don't make the grade. Certain and other universities must seriously contemplate the consequences of pushing their academic entrance requirements beyond the

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each of those students who may be struggling in high school, but could be successful in university.

David Lynch,
Nelson, Ont.

As a past department chairman and professor at St. Lawrence College in Cornwall, Ont., I found your article on Carleton University had a very special interest for me. For years, St. Lawrence fought opponents to its open-door policy, maintaining the need for equal opportunity for all. An admirable thought, but one that was designed once to increase revenues that it was to meet the needs of the lowest students to control academic levels and program focus.

Robert G. Sherr,
Cornwall, Ont.

Tender care

In your informative article on schizophrenia ("Schizophrenia: hidden torment," *Life and Science*, Jan. 30), you didn't give enough credit to the fantastic teamwork by the psychiatrists, therapists and everyone at the Queen Street Mental Health Centre in Toronto. I work there as a volunteer and every day I see the tremendous care and understanding given to the schizophrenic patients at this great institution.

Craig Turkel,
Toronto

Honorable mention

Brows for Deirdre McMurtry's editorial *Book at The Wall Street Journal's* opinion of Canada as an "honorary Third World country" ("The third option," *The Nation's Business*, Jan. 30). If that kind of border status should be applied to countries that do not provide proper health care and other necessary social programs to their citizens, such as the United States.

Sandy Kinsley,
Toronto

Only a Third World country would have a national journal that gives space to the sophomoric views of Deirdre McMurtry, writing *The Wall Street Journal's* assessment of Canada as a Third World prospect, and in the same issue presents Allen Folberg, who sees NAFTA as a disaster ("Skepticism normal: nothing makes sense").

R. M. Macintosh,
Toronto

Macintosh's editorial makes sense, but the way he refers to the issue and clearly, please supply some advice and discuss the situation. Write, Letters to the Editor, Macintosh magazine, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1A7. Fax: (416) 362-1111. E-mail: R.M. Macintosh@mac.com

OPENING NOTES

UNDER THE ICE

Between the 18th and 19th centuries, there was much speculation about the whys, the wherefores and the whereabouts of Atlantis, the island that supposedly sank beneath the sea thousands of years ago. In modern times, however—despite occasional diving expeditions to locate the mythical kingdom first referred to by Plato—Atlantis has been relegated to B-movies, and a 1969 score by Brian Bennett (Dorothy

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COLUMN



On liberty, Larry King and driving alone

BY BARBARA AMIEL

About a month ago, I was watching television one night when I came upon a group of talking heads including the feminist Judy Rebick. Rebick was talking about the terrible plight of the disadvantaged in Canada, specifically women, single mothers, "minority persons" and other ill-treated groups in our land. I let out whoops of laughter. The only ill-treated groups in Canada I can see these days are hard-working Canadians of every socioeconomic class who fork over a lot of their money to the government so it can subsidize Rebick's various causes.

"Please," said my husband, Gerald Block, who was recuperating from the "please change the channel or I'll be ill" I thought he was joking, so I turned on my head. Finally, someone asked another guest on the program how Canadians were going to take care of these people who couldn't "make it" in Canadian society. The answer given was that all Canadians who voted said laughed after themselves in this awful land of ours and that I was responsible for any person who didn't. I was in stitches of laughter. Then, I thought, one way going to India was considered entertainment in earlier centuries. There, I heard a groan. "Oh, no," my husband, "that's what Canada has come to." At birth, each Canadian will decide whether to be a member of the productive or nonproductive classes. "He went to the bathroom."

I calmly continued watching. There, so another station, were Patricia Williams and Peter Macdonald taking off on questions. A perfectly polite viewer suggested that he would like to hear more "balanced" reporting. What? I asked society. Macdonald replied, quite legibly, "give me an example." The man suggested that he just wanted Canadian talk shows to give all sides of the story. "Like the Larry King show," he suggested. Macdonald, as if the caller had died, asked Margaret on his source of public affairs pro-

gramming. "Does Larry King Live deal with Canadian issues?" He and Williams exchanged supercilious smiles. I didn't see the relevance of Macdonald's comment, and, as it happens, the caller said that a lot of the calls were from Larry King or Canadians.

Myself, I was all for the caller. Before ever watching a TV report that purported to discuss whether or not there should be higher taxes on profits—and managed to miss the notion of "profits" sound akin to a first-class locomotive—while giving just one sound bite in a lengthy news item to the notion that higher taxes could hamper business and reduce jobs, I had a lot of sympathy for the conclusion that Canadian broadcasting tactics, well, balance.

About then I noticed my husband was still absent. I went into the bathroom and found him lying on the floor looking green. He has a strong sense of Canadian patriotism and seeing the decline of rationality in Canada's political debate is a deeply unhappy experience for him. His response to Rebick was to recalculate a perfectly good paper.

Unlike my husband, my own allegiance goes to whatever country most highly cherishes individual liberty. In my lifetime, that has al-

ways been the United States. When I read the latest Constitution, I am particularly taken with its "unalienable powers" clause, which is far more protective of individual liberties than the so-called Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The charter actually enshrines inequality by giving the government power to override equality before the law to satisfy any group it deems to be necessary.

Under the U.S. Constitution's residual powers clause, every power not specifically allotted to the federal government resides, in essence, with the people. As well, America does not redistribute its money through transfer payments based on some collective national welfare scheme. If you want the living standard of Phoenix, Ariz., you move there. You do not stay in Phoenix and wait for the taxpayers of Calgary to look after you. All in all, for Canada to join the United States, on any and possibly as many as that may be, seems to me a very good idea. It could also be a very sobering experience for our broadcasters who, in the tradition of the Sunday morning U.S. TV political discussion shows, might make balance mean more than going true to "Canadian culture." They might have to worry more about political diversity than gender, sexual and racial diversity. They might actually have to put maligned ideas on air—not broadcast like Rebick versus Clare Hoy.

But I am a wandering conceptualist, I suppose, and my husband is a sentimental Canadian. Actually, I think our different views of Canada come from different ways of looking at the world. They might actually have to put maligned ideas on air—not broadcast like Rebick versus Clare Hoy. But I am a wandering conceptualist, I suppose, and my husband is a sentimental Canadian. Actually, I think our different views of Canada come from different ways of looking at the world. They might actually have to put maligned ideas on air—not broadcast like Rebick versus Clare Hoy.

The war on the individual driver is at a crossroads in Toronto these days. Great trucks all across the city are now fitted with speed bumps, barriers, one-way signs of dead end complexity and stop signs at every block. Camera shy photograph drivers whose great aim is not but to drink driving, but driving a few kilometers over the speed limit are now in the scanner. Zero tolerance is the "in" phrase.

The proliferation of pollution and traffic jams is a big item on the agenda of legislators to control individuals. Still, I see signs of hope. The clever young people on campuses today do not share the silent views of our older citizens. They are more vocal with newspapers such as *Frank*, which I loathe and which has caused me great pain, does target the basic assumptions of the collective and living mentality. There is a change blooming in the wind, though it will come too late for older like me. Meanwhile, I get my pleasure out of driving alone on lanes reserved for cars with at least three passengers. Tompkins, Agat

Bouchard tries to breathe new life into the cause of separatism

First came the rose, then the myth. And last week, when Lucien Bouchard made his long-awaited return to Parliament Hill, all that seemed missing was the suitable television mini-series on his life. Suddenly, no doubt, one will be made. In the meantime, there was almost everything else the nationalists can call out a legend in the making. It was virtually impossible to turn on a television set open a newspaper or other official language without confronting images of the quiet but still game leader of the Bloc Québécois. "I am back, really back, that is not a one-shot deal," Bouchard intoned in his first public meeting with reporters after his December bout with recasting eyebrows (conspicuously known as the Bouchardian disease) that cost him his left leg—and almost cost him his life. And, in one of several flashes of humor that he has not previously shown much evidence of in public, he poked fun at his own ubiquitous, tightly scripted media presence. "The next time I come back after being close to death, I will do it differently," he said with a smile.

No matter. The post-surgical Bouchard is, given the severity of his illness, a remarkably lively figure. As he made clear in several exchanges in the House of Commons, he has lost none of his rhetorical skills or guile. The only difference is that instead of gesturing with both hands, as was once the case, he now long-sleeved hand balanced on a wood railing in front of him in steady rhythm. Similarly, although he now uses a cane to provide extra balance with his new prosthetic leg, he has only a slight limp, and despite a widely seen stumble that took place at one of television cameras, Bouchard moves up and down stairs—usually one of the most difficult challenges for recent amputees—relatively swiftly and easily. And Bouchard vows that he will be "as active and present as I was before" in the Commons, and in public life in general.

If the supporting of 600,000 miles from across Canada during Bouchard's recovery was any indication, that news will be received with pleasure by most Canadians. But it is especially good news for Quebec sovereigntists, who are counting desperately on Bouchard to inject new energy into their mostly moribund cause. After a long period in which federalists seemed to have all but absorbed themselves from the public debate about Quebec's future, their silence appears palpable. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who was courted both in and outside the province for his long-term prospects, was suddenly being hailed for his wisdom and discretion, "not as an advisor occasionally." "Well, we know he had that all along."

More to the point, Chrétien now has the well-respected Lucien Bouchard at his side. Fresh from her by-election victory in the Montreal rid-

ing of St-Henri/Westmount on Feb. 13, Bouchard was sworn in as bloc minister last week, and given the added responsibility of directing the bloc's efforts in the referendum campaign—and where it ever occurs. Rebuffed, a provincial cabinet minister under former premier Robert Bourassa, "was unquestionably one of the two or three smartest, most able ministers we had," says Jean Paré, Bouchard's former chief of staff. She will serve as Ottawa's representative on the PQ's elite in a quiet uniform—the same role Chrétien served in the 1988 campaign. A step plan is that she also gets going with Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, which leaves her well placed to try to coordinate the views of Chrétien and Johnson. It also means that she will be given the spotlight in Quebec rather than PQ's Council President Marcel Massé or Foreign Affairs Minister André Gauthier.

There is more good news for Chrétien. He has several new polls, including one released last week, showing a comfortable lead for the federal side among divided voters. The poll, conducted by the Angus Reid Group, showed that 54 per cent of divided respondents would vote No to sovereignty, while 42 per cent were in favor. The province-wide sovereignty consultations, which were supposed to provide a springboard for the moment, have ended up for the most part preaching to the converted—the approximately 60 per cent of Quebecers who at any time will vote for sovereignty. Otherwise, the hearings have sometimes been seriously attended, and many of those who do usually are either legitimate representatives or representatives of legitimate separatist groups. Similarly, a series of Quebec government videos that were expected to provide dramatic examples of the cost of waste and duplication between federal and provincial governments have so far failed to uncover any such evi-

dence. And perhaps most important, it is Quebec sovereigntists who now show the same signs of caution and timidity that appeared for so long to be the exclusive domain of federalists.

The dilemma for Bouchard as he begins his return to public life is simple. On the one hand, he must provide enough solace and spark to convince disenchanted sovereigntists and undecided voters that there is a sense building up on behalf of the *oui* side in an eventual referendum. But he must do so while simultaneously tamping down the enthusiasm of die-hard sovereigntists—and cocksure federalists—who are demanding a referendum soon, with the most clear-cut question possible. The recent, even the Parti Québécois's own polls indicate they could not see under those conditions. Although Bouchard insists

he still wants a referendum in 1995—as Premier Jacques Parizeau has promised—it is clear that he is thinking later in the year, rather than sooner. It is less clear whether Bouchard thinks the question to be asked in such a referendum should even directly offer Quebecers the option of full sovereignty. Asked whether he might like to see a *café* (that would) propose that Quebecers vote *ja* (hello) to Canada through an arrangement similar to the European Union, Bouchard was full of careful ambiguity. "We shouldn't include anything positive, interesting and creative."

The now-waiting in one of several possibilities that sovereigntists are considering. Another option would be to ask Quebecers to choose between sovereignty and the status quo, which would imply that Canada's constitutional arrangements can never be changed.

A third option would be to ask voters to give the provincial government a mandate to demand specific and wide-ranging new powers from Ottawa. If those powers were not granted by a certain date to be specified in the referendum, the government would then have the mandate to direct Quebec to fully sovereign status. Yet another option would be to ask voters to choose from several choices, ranging from full sovereignty to the status quo in a new confederal arrangement giving Quebec new powers.

But any or all of those questions carry their own set of risks for sovereigntists. A multi-question referendum, for example, would force Quebec to change its existing referendum law and spark a large, contentious debate even before the campaign begins. Quebec's chief electoral officer, Pierre J. Côté, last week took the unusual step of publicly criticizing such a notion. Another danger is that Canadian political leaders outside Quebec, whose cooperation would be essential in any future negotiation with a sovereign Quebec, would not recognize the legitimacy of a referendum if they considered the question too odd.

But the real gamble of a soft question, acknowledge some sovereigntists, lies in the uncertain response of Quebecers. "Just how stupid are we going to look if we ask a soft question and the result is still a majority *Non*?" one PQ member of the national assembly told Maclean's. That is quite possible. Despite the frequent assertion of Bouchard and others that Quebecers wholeheartedly reject the status quo, a recent poll commissioned by the CBC showed that 51 per cent of divided respondents, faced with a choice between sovereignty at the status quo, would choose the latter. A No vote to such a question would leave the PQ in the uncomfortable and ironic position of putting the province in a weaker negotiating position with the rest of Canada after a referendum date when they took power.

Bouchard's return also brings an intangible, but somewhat elusive, benefit that should be appreciated by most Canadians. He remarked several times last week how "spontaneously moved" he was by the outpouring of sympathy from outside Quebec. Similarly, the prolonged return in the Commons that marked his return felt like a kindly nudge. In acknowledgment of the yellow rose left on his empty desk by Rochelle MP Jan Brown during his absence, Bouchard sent her a rose on his return. "I have looked forward to this moment since a certain day in December, when technology and destiny combined to give me another chance," he said. The ideological gulf between sovereigntists and federalists remains as wide as ever. But between Bouchard on the rose side, and Brown on the other, the emotional distance may never again be quite the same.

Straight from the heart

Bill Clinton and Jean Chrétien celebrate a close relationship

A Prime Minister Jean Chrétien showed President Bill Clinton around Parliament Hill last week, pointing out the seating areas and state work of the Centre Block visitors. It was hard to ignore the evident affection between the two leaders, the undertones of chatter, the warmth as the two-armed handshakes. So taken was Clinton with his visit that he even changed his schedule to see Clinton off when Air Force One headed back to Washington at the end of the two-day summit. The sentiment was also apparently shared by the two wives. Anne Clinton and Hillary Clinton, who were skating together on the Rideau Canal. Clinton and Clinton did not sing together, but it was pretty charming, as the Prime Minister himself acknowledged. "Who were alone," said Clinton, "I call him Bill."

It was a remarkable change of heart from a man who roared during the 1993 election campaign and after that he was not going to follow Brian Mulroney's lead and make friends with the president of the United States, that the Canada-U.S. relationship achieved in by the liberals would be a more distant and dignified one. That distance, though, was never more than just show, as the results of the summit it will prove. Trade disputes over culture and agriculture and differences over Cuba were ignored, and a new agreement to expand twinning air travel was hailed as progress on controversial free trade. Clinton and Clinton took steps to help each other domestically as well as with Clinton visiting several markets as the Quebec issue that indicated an American preference for Canadian unity.

With the Clinton visit coming during the week that Bloc Quebecois leader Lucien Bouchard returned to Parliament Hill, the national unity question was prominent and Bouchard himself was largely responsible. To the apparent chagrin of Clinton, Bouchard visited for and expressed a meeting with Clinton. Such meetings U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher told Medien's last week, are "common practice" have been for years, and there was nothing to read into them. Said Clinton: "I met with Mr. Bouchard because he is the leader of the Opposition. He just happens to be a separatist."

To help take the sting out of the Bouchard meeting for the Canadian hosts, Clinton also agreed to meet Reform leader Preston Man-



Clinton and Chrétien: popovers over disputes with a welcome endorsement of Canadian unity

ing for an equal number of them—between 30 and 20 minutes. More critical, however, were the heated meetings at the Rideau Hall residence of U.S. Ambassador James Blanchard. There was not, therefore, any public photographic record of the friendly chat of the American President and the Quebec separatist that he could use, firing the running rivalry down campaign to soften attitudes that Quebecers might be internationally isolated after independence. The Canadian government also decided at the last minute that it should be represented at the meeting. Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Gauthier asked Bouchard if he would send it. Raymond Chrétien, the Canadian ambassador in Washington and the Prime Minister's nephew, said, as Bouchard agreed: "No nothing to hide," he said.

It was the first time, Bouchard said, that a

separatist had a chance to sit down with a U.S. president and explain why some Quebecers were independent. It was not that Quebecers were a misaligned people, he explained, but rather a matter of national identity. And he told reporters that he assured Clinton that the process would be democratic and nonviolent and that American interests would not be compromised. "It is absolutely confirmed that a sovereign Quebec would change absolutely nothing for the United States," he said. "It would mean just another neighbor."

Bouchard did not reveal Clinton's response. The Bloc Quebecois leader, a former Canadian ambassador to Paris, said diplomatic protocol prevented him from saying. Clinton also did say that Bouchard raised the issue of an independent Quebec's membership in the

North American Free Trade Association with the President. His press secretary, Mike Curry, said Clinton told Bouchard the question was hypothetical and that the President "reacted positively and thanked Mr. Bouchard for the opportunity to learn more about the separatist movement." But one clear indication that Bouchard's arguments did not carry much weight with the President came later at a gala dinner held among the fifteen poles at the Museum of Civilization after a meal of fisherman soup and Quebec wine with distance and held theme. Clinton proposed a toast, "Long live Canada, our Canada."

It was the second time that day that Clinton had offered words that he said Clinton said the United States does not look forward to the potential breaking of the country that has long been its closest ally and most important trading partner. In fact, for close observers of what Washington really thinks about the prospect of Quebec independence, note of that was much of a surprise (page 32). In his speech to a joint session of Parliament, Clinton invited what is known as the American quest on Canada's unity problems. While the United States enjoys close relations with

■ Military Clinton on the Rideau Canal chateau



a united Canada, he said, "your political future is, of course, entirely for you to decide." That got Bill Clinton to his feet, but the Bloc Quebecois quickly left him as Clinton declared the leader, saying he was proud of Harry Truman's own words to Parliament in 1947: "Canada's notable achievement of national unity and progress through accommodation, moderation and forbearance can be studied with profit by other nations." Just to make sure that everyone got the point, Clinton added: "Those words ring every bit as true today as they did then."

The agreement on opening up air travel ports is the one given of symmetry that should pay dividends to people on both sides of the border, especially frequent fliers. The relaxation of 12 years old trans-continental regulations has accorded airlines direct entry and allows both Canadian and U.S. airlines to serve any market they choose at unregulated prices (page 38). Clinton and Chrétien both hailed the agreement as yet another victory for free trade. An American official said it was "based on the same fundamental open-market principles as the North American Free Trade Agreement." Clinton said the previous restrictions have "induced business" not predicted that the new rules would create jobs and boost air travel and tourism for both countries.

"Even the sky is not the limit for our relationship," Clinton quipped. The conclusion of the agreement, after such difficult negotiations, was a courtesy sign, said Blanchard, that the friendship between Clinton and Chrétien meant closer ties between the two countries. "The fact that we are signing an open skies agreement (with Mulroney and Rossini), Reagan and (George) Bush were unable to achieve," he said. "Relations between our governments are probably wider and deeper and stronger than they have ever been."

In the one unfortunate departure from Clinton's well-worn script, U.S. Secretary of State Christopher was briefly admitted to Ottawa Civic Hospital with a bleeding ulcer. But even that event was turned to good public relations use by Hillary Clinton. The chief architect of bilateral relations that would have given Americans more access to health care, she said, was Clinton's overnight stop

might give Americans valuable insight into Canada's universal healthcare system. "There has been a lot of misinformation that has been put out across the border," she said, "so perhaps (Christopher's) illness will give people more of a chance to learn about the system."

The presidential visit also demonstrated, yet again, the intricate nature of U.S.-Canada relations. Trade and commerce are the backbone, with \$300 billion worth of exports and imports crossing the border last year, up 22 per cent over the previous year. But it is far more than that, underlying an extraordinary spread of activity. It is the daily business of 20 million Canadians, York University historian Jack Granatstein, an expert on U.S.-Canada relations, said in an interview. "It is the interrelationship across a continent."

The connection are not only complex, but considered by some as delicate. Clinton noted in his introduction to Parliament: "The Americans are our best friends—whether we like it or not." As much as Clinton and Canadian generally might want a more distant relationship with the United States, Granatstein and other observers say it is difficult to live with the idea. "It would be to simply impossible for us to have anything other than a close relationship with the United States," Granatstein told Medien's. "There really isn't any option."

Despite on trade have often feared the relationship that Clinton and Chrétien were cultivating, that has been, officials from both countries developed them in nearly identical. "A lot of the trade activity is under control," said Blanchard. Murray Smith, director of the Centre for Trade Policy and Law in Ottawa, said, however, that the disputes over culture are not serious that they were considered last week. Canadian negotiators have the potential to cause problems because the issue is so tightly charged in Canada. But though Clinton and Clinton did get along well, the Prime Minister's communications director said the friendship will not suffer. Canadian position: "We're not going to look for trouble but we are going to stand our ground," said Peter Donohue.

So far, Canadians seem to like the way Clinton has approached the United States, with a December, 1994, Smithsonian poll giving Clinton a 59-per cent approval rating in his management of cross-border ties. Vancomers with 35 per cent for Mulroney in March, 1992, when he was preparing to leave office. But according to some experts, what Canadians like most is a relationship that works. As Smith puts it: "Canadians like to shake their fist at Americans, but become anxious if the Americans catch them doing it."

St. Taylor, a longtime Canadian diplomat who headed the foreign affairs department at the Mulroney point, says Clinton has given Canadians exactly what they wanted, the optics of a more dignified relationship. "A good deal of that is style, not substance," said Taylor. Last week, the style changed.

WARRICK CAMARGA in Ottawa with CARL MULLINS in Washington

Populist backlash

White linen, candles and artificial arrangements of preserved autumn foliage around the neatly laid long tables. Most of the diners were white. But the highlight of the arena was the deer meat roasting. And keeping a silent watch overhead were powerful, lantern figures of a moose, a wolf, an eagle and an owl.

The place was the great hall of the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia. The occasion last week was a luncheon banquet thrown by the Canabaa Council for Aboriginal Business, a nonprofit group whose mandate is to encourage employers to hire qualified natives in management and professional positions. In keeping with that affirmative mission, the group's guest speaker, Manitoba Grand Chief Phil Fontaine, concluded his review of Manitoba's progress towards native self-government on a conciliatory note. "We don't want to fight with you," the native leader told his audience of business, lawmakers and executives. "We want to work with you."

Native land claims disputes add a volatile new element to B.C. politics

His message, however, seemed to die at the banquet hall door. With talks anticipated later this year as the first of 43 pending native land claims—combined, they exceed British Columbia's total surface area—the mood among some of the province's 3.3 million non-native residents is hardly co-operative. In fact, provincial Reform leader Jack Wensinger plans to make the claims of British Columbia's 95,000 status Indians a central issue in the election that new Premier Michael Harcourt is expected to call later this year. Wensinger has threatened against attempts to settle the province's long-standing native claims as, among other things, "unfathomable." Last week, the former Social Credit native affairs minister remarked has awarded an aboriginal demands when he landed on at least by Vancouver area Mounties Indians to renegotiate several 30-year-old residential losses as "provocative and positive."

The inflammatory rhetoric is bound to heat up in the months ahead, as British Columbia approach an election that is shaping up as a

fight three-way race. An Angus Reid survey released in December gave the governing NDP 29 per cent of the decided vote, compared with 23 per cent for the two-year-old provincial Reform party. The official Opposition Liberals led with 36 per cent. The Liberals, whose base lies among urban and suburban voters in the lower B.C. mainland, have so far largely avoided the volatile native issue. But it holds particular appeal for Reform, which has found its greatest support in the rural shingles of the B.C. interior.

Unhappy for the stable NDP province, the native issue is unlikely to go away before the election must be called. Uniquely among Canadian provinces, settlers in British Columbia never signed treaties with the region's aboriginal inhabitants. While persistent native demands for such treaties accelerated during the 1980s, their case moved at a glacial pace until 1991, when Harcourt declared treaty agreements to be a priority for his new government. A year later, the province, natives and the former Conservative federal government, created a special commission to oversee land claim negotiations throughout the province.

There has been one exception to that process, agreed with sympathetic court rulings, one Indian band has been pressing its claim in protected closed-door talks with federal and provincial officials since 1976. It is that claim, by the 5,000-member Nisga'a band, which has opened much of the latest controversy.

The band has asked for the return of its traditional 30,000-square-mile hunting range in the Nass River watershed, a breathtakingly beautiful region of deep-cut fjords and towering mountains peaks 800 km north of Vancouver. Tribal negotiators are also asking for \$2 billion in compensation for resources that they say have been illicitly extracted from their traditional lands by non-natives. Last week, the band released a new private study, by Price Waterhouse, which concluded that Nisga'a lands have yielded as much as \$4.3 billion worth of lumber, fish and other resources to non-natives in exchange, provincial officials confirmed privately that Victoria has offered the Nisga'a closer to \$125 million (with at least three-quarters of that amount to be paid by Ottawa) and 960 square miles of land, with additional benefits in the form of fishing licenses and timber rights.

That offer drew howls of outrage from Wensinger. Unless a final agreement also stops the Nisga'a of all their existing benefits in return for a settlement, Wensinger insists, "the agreement is far too rich." Wensinger also charges that official silence on the details under discussion has "poisoned the negotiating process with a climate of suspicion rooted in fear." Other Reform politicians have been even more outspoken, with federal MP Michael Scott, who represents the Nass River region, stating that a Nisga'a settlement could even prompt a violent backlash by rural whites.

Harcourt, for his part, has moved in recent months to reposition his government as the defender of conservative attitudes. Last fall, the premier declared that no private property would be taken over by natives in any treaty settlements. Last week, Harcourt reinforced that stance, asserting: "I am there to represent the 95 per cent of British Columbians who are non-aboriginal. If an agreement with the Nisga'a isn't one that I am comfortable with, I am not going to sign it." Against a background of politically charged discontent, the cooperation between native and non-native Canadians that Fontaine advocates is likely to be a long time bearing fruit, at least in British Columbia.

CLARENCE WOOD is in Vancouver.



Nisga'a fishermen: the province is repositioning himself as a defender of non-natives

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● **Confederating** holding court: the young sometimes shake their own choice

Letter published in late January, 45 per cent of respondents aged between 18 and 34 favor sovereignty—the highest level of support of any age group polled.

Even so, today's youthful separatists display little of the emotional fervor of their counterparts in the 1960s and 1970s. "A generation ago it was easy to be a revolutionary," says Daniel Salier, a political scientist and vice-principal of Concordia University's School of Community and Public Affairs in Montreal. "Now, unlike their elders who were overreacting to the core, young people are saying 'Yes to sovereignty, but not at any cost. They are asking what kind of a society we are going to have and where will they fit in.'"

Civil, a 25-year-old film major, is perhaps typical. Unlike the sovereignty activists of a generation ago, he tends to discuss debates about language, culture and nationalism by his e-mail. "Most young people

think the language war is ridiculous," he says. "We're Québécois, we're a people. We're taking control of our institutions. So, culturally, we're sovereign." But like many of the young people who have attended the sovereignty hearings, Civil places great faith in the economic benefits of a sovereign Québec. Independence, he suggests, will save the province billions of dollars that is now wasted due to overlap between federal and provincial programs. "It's time to become economically independent," he says.

Economic prospects also preoccupy young Québécois of a different bent. "The real problem in Québec are the problems of the economy," says Simon Gaskier, a 25-year-old engineer who addressed the hearings in Lével as a member of a pro-independence group known as Generation 1955. Gaskier notes that the provincial government is already spending under chronic budgetary deficits and mounting debts and could not handle the additional burden of assuming an share of Canada's accumulated debt. The real result, he says, could be a deepening financial crisis and a drop in the standard of living of all Québécois. Adds Gaskier: "It's us, the young people, who will have to deal with the deficit."

Like the other travelling sovereignty commission, the youth panel is dominated by justice separatists. Drawn from the ranks of the PQ, the Bloc Québécois and the strictly nonpartisan Parti Action Démocratique, the commission's effect is to engage in fiery exchanges with federalists who appear before them. In Lével, they occasionally raised questions about the funding arrangements behind Generation 1955, a group formed in January in direct response to the youth commission and that receives some financial and logistical

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CANADA

Young and scared

It is almost noon at the fortresslike Mount Allison College on the sprawling Montreal suburb of Lével, and students troop noisily through the halls. Few give more than a passing glance to a video screen just outside the school's main entrance, broadcasting images of the Youth Commission on the Future of Québec holding court sessions. Even fewer decide to check out the one-day hearings—one of 20 such events being held across the province to



For Premier Jacques Parizeau, the travelling youth commission has been one of the few bright spots in an otherwise dreary public consultation process leading up to the referendum on independence. As with the other 17 sovereignty commissions currently crisscrossing the province, attendance has sometimes been spotty—down to a low of 50 at the Lével hearing to a high of 250 at the town of Gaspé. Compared with the other commissions, where participants are invited by the provincial government, the Lével hearing was held by the Parti Québécois.

**Youthful Québécois
may support
sovereignty, but
their main concern
is the economy**

hearing was held by the Parti Québécois. The first hearing was held in Lével, a town of 15,000 people, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River. The hearing was held in a large hall, and the atmosphere was one of anticipation. The hearing was held in a large hall, and the atmosphere was one of anticipation. The hearing was held in a large hall, and the atmosphere was one of anticipation.

support from the Canadian Unity Council. Respected Anic Perrault, a 29-year-old unemployed lawyer who now works full time for Genetec Inc. (3838 "Did we come here to talk about the draft bill or to be here and every time we want to defend a federalist point of view?"

Beyond the rhetorical studies between federalists and separatists, the hearings have elicited a far-reaching list of priorities for an independent Quebec. Among them: increasing support for young entrepreneurs, rescinding the death penalty and decriminalizing drugs (as one student put it: "We're talking about sovereignty over our own bodies"). Several people have also suggested that Quebec should abandon the Canadian dollar and replace it with currency sporting the face of Quebec folk hero Félix Leclerc, or leader Louis-Joseph Papineau and former Quebec premier Daniel Johnson Sr., the nation's first leader of the current provincial Liberal leader. While the flurry of ideas sometimes skates close to chaos, the meetings retain a certain civility, largely thanks to Gauthier's intervention.

Ironically, the epitome of the watercooler television personality in January government's negative reaction from both the media and student groups. Gauthier did little to improve his image when he publicly declared he had accepted the job "because something new is happening in Quebec in 1995." In front of an audience, however, Gauthier is as affable, if low-key, as a politician. One thing is for sure: he is as good as he is. He circulates through the audience like a daytime talk-show host, encouraging the crowd to ask questions or make comments. "We're here to listen to you," he responds, although his chairman's role is circumscribed by the behavior of the fractious, outspoken commissioners who share the stage with him.

Gauthier, who steadfastly refuses to say where he stands on the sovereignty issue, freely admits that some of his commissioners have been "banned" to their treatment of individuals. But he insists that the report he will submit to the provincial government after the hearings end on March 5 will be scrupulously fair to both sides—and he hopes that, in responding to the commissioners' findings, the Privy Council will follow his example. "What's at stake," he says, "is our credibility." And with a government intent on convincing as many young Quebecers as possible to help take Quebec out of Canada, credibility is crucial.

Quebec's new voice

Hélène Jutras says separatism is outmoded

A generation ago, Hélène Jutras would almost certainly have been a passionately committed Quebec separatist—and most likely an active separatist. At 29, she is at an age when political ideas can be most stirring, and raising all for a dream seems romantic rather than dangerous. So it is a sign of how much has changed among Quebec's young people that Jutras has become one of the severest and most controversial critics of the sovereignty movement, a voice for what has become known as "post-separatist" thinking in a new book entitled *Le Québec Me Tar*



Daniel LaVaché and Pierre Bourquail. Most of Jutras for her negative attitude she was labelled everything from a spoiled brat to a traitor to Quebec.

In fact, she comes from a village of 500 people called St-Hilaire-de-Mataneau, near Trois-Rivières in the Quebec heartland, and was raised in modest luxury by her mother at the Montreal suburb of St-Laurent. She studies law at McGill University, largely because she believes that Quebec's French-language education system is inferior. She insists that she is not a spokesperson for her generation, yet her ideas reflect those of many young French-speaking Quebecers who feel left out of the intractable debate over independence that has consumed the province all their lives. Jutras points out that she was only four years old during Quebec's last referendum on sovereignty in 1980, and that the same older generation of political leaders, intellectuals and journalists has been hashing over the same issues since before she can remember. "Nothing seems to have changed in 15 years," she said in an interview. "It just keeps on turning over and over."

And that, says Jutras, explains in part why the Parti Québécois government's campaign to arouse emotions in favor of independence is proving so difficult. "The debate on 'sovereignty or not,'" she writes, "may have come from the people—but by day it belongs only to a certain elite." Worse, she argues, sovereignty has become for many Quebecers magic: toy that will solve all their problems—and thus an excuse for not taking solid action now. "I don't think changing the name from a province to a country will solve anything important. The important issue is education system," she says.

Nonetheless, Jutras, like most young francophones, tends to vote Yes to sovereignty if Premier Jacques Parizeau goes ahead with his referendum. In the past, her logic, however, has little to do with traditional separatist reasoning. Quebecers should become independent, she says, just to end the constitutional debate and go on to more important things. "We are like a teenager who refuses to leave home, who stays with her parents and complains all the time," she says. "At a certain point, we have to leave and get our own apartment, take responsibility for our own lives. It's the only way Quebecers can stop acting like perpetual adolescents." So far, at least, that is all she has to say about the separatist movement.



Jutras at McGill University: "Nothing seems to have changed in 15 years"

Quebec is killing me, the province has taken itself deadly seriously at the older generation of separatists, and says that she feels suffocated in a "political ghetto where walls are as high as human stupidity."

Much of Jutras's book is a wide-ranging critique of Quebec's shortcomings—in particular its education system—which could be made by any intelligent teenager. But what turned her into an instant media celebrity in the province was the intense reaction that came when she first published her ideas last September in two articles in the Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*. Jutras wrote all the editor's sovereignty debate as a student document that is studying Quebecers, and announced that she would eventually leave the province to find intellectual freedom and better opportunities. That produced a torrent of criticism—and more letters to *Le Devoir* than anything since the language debates of the 1980s. Two separatist columnists,

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Scenes from prison videos seeking damages for a long list of grievances

repeatedly stabbed a man, threatened to cut off his penis and beat him with a baseball bat. According to a Corrections Canada spokesman, they were among the prisoners who had caused the outbreak of violence that lasted for four days beginning on April 22, 1984. The eight women, some of whom are color and claim that the disturbance followed a racist contest by a guard, made clubs with the metal bars from the bed frames in their cells. They also tossed burning debris from their cells and threw cups of urine on the guards who approached to disperse the flames. The unrest peaked on April 26 when a female guard was knapped by inmates on a cotwalk. A male guard finally rescued her, and the riot squad from nearby Kingston Penitentiary was then called in.

In the video, aired last week on the CBC current affairs program the 5th estate, the riot squad appeared to do their job methodically. The video, shot by a member of the team, shows each prisoner being asked to remove her clothes. If she refused, she was forced to lie face down, as she was handcuffed, a female member of the prison staff cut away the inmate's clothes. In one instance, however, a male member of the team is seen cutting the blouse and trousers off an inmate. In some cases, the prisoners were left naked for long periods before female guards finally gave them paper nightgowns to wear. But despite the raw images, John Edwards, commissioner of the correctional service, declined the squad's actions as necessary "to prevent injuries to staff as well as other inmates."

Stewart, however, questioned whether the riot squad was even needed. In his report, he said that when the squad arrived, the prisoners were all locked in their cells. Many appeared to be sleeping and none resisted. And later mail orders should never have been used to bring up the women in the first place. Most of the female prisoners, he added, had been sexually abused in the past, and being forced to lie naked would be regarded by them as unacceptable. Said Stewart: "This only reinforces a behavior they already know so well."

Prison guards say they will be vindicated by the independent inquiry. Said Shirley O'Neil, president of the Union representing the corrections officers at the prison: "The emergency team did its job very professionally." Bill Morrison plans to continue his fight. Added Morrison: "We just want the truth to come out." Solicitor General Gray is hoping that is exactly what an independent inquiry will deliver.

TOM FENNEL

Canada Jailhouse shock

Brenda Ann Morrison could hear them cussing. And when the six men dressed in body armor, helmets and carrying clubs arrived at her prison cell, they ignored her screams. Morrison, 32, who is serving a five-year sentence for armed robbery at the Prison For Women in Kingston, Ont., was one of eight women who had participated in a riot on April 22, 1984. They stayed here, took a guard hostage and stabbed another with a syringe. Prison officials, worried that the unrest would spread, called in an all-male riot squad who proceeded to subdue the women and helped strip them as part of a search for hidden weapons. "It was barbaric," said Morrison. Last week, at a scolding report, a federal spokeswoman investigating the riot said the riot squad had used excessive and dehumanizing force. And after viewing a videotape of the incident, Solicitor General Herb Gray ordered an independent investigation. Said Gray: "This very troubled and concerned."

Shortly after the disturbance, Corrections Canada officials launched their own investigation into the incident. That report, made public last month, concluded that Mary Cassidy, who was warden of the maximum-security prison during the riot, was justified in calling in the riot squad. The report, however, makes no mention of the fact that some members of the riot team actually cut away some of the female prisoners' clothes. And in a report, Ron Stewart, the federal ombudsman who investigates complaints made by the inmates of federal prisons, said the Corrections Canada report was "incomplete, inaccurate and self-serving." He noted that the riot was called off only because the female guards had been disarmed by the prison riot.

To save her credibility with the guards, he added, the women then called in the emergency response team. Gray stopped short of calling the Corrections Canada report a covering lie, he noted. "There is a direct conflict between the two reports."

Stewart also said that the eight prisoners deserve financial compensation for the emotional trauma they suffered. While that may happen, the eight women are also in the process of being charged with various offences of being Correction Canada's lawyer, Dan Bailey at Kingston, and his direct in seeking damages for a long list of grievances, including assault and battery and sexual assault. The women, and female staff who remove the prisoners' clothing, As well, a female riot squad will also be created. Robert Bate, chairman of the prison's citizens advisory committee, welcomed that decision. Said Bate: "It's just something positive will come out of this."

The women involved in the riot were among the most violent of the 134 inmates at the prison. For one, Sandy Paquin, 35, who was serving eight years for armed robbery, also received a life term for murdering a fellow inmate. Another prisoner, Joy Lynn Twiss, 32, was also doing a life sentence for murder. And during a robbery, Morrison had

Video tapes of men subduing female inmates prompts Ottawa to call a new investigation



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Canada NOTES

Appealing a mercy killing

Robert Latimer sat at the prisoner's box and pined steadily at three Saskatchewan Appeal Court judges as his lawyer, Mark Stupard, argued for his free-

dom. The 43-year-old Saskatchewan farmer was appealing his Nov. 26 second-degree murder conviction for killing his daughter, Tracy, 12, who suffered from severe cerebral palsy. "There are times when pain is so great that life isn't worth living," Stupard said as he urged the judges to overturn Latimer's sentence of life in prison without eligibility for parole for 30 years—the same term usually for second-degree murder. "It was humane for her to continue to suffer the way she did," Stupard said, asking the judges to rule as inadvisable Latimer's reluctant confession to police: a boy (part of the prosecution's case in the original trial) because he had not followed proper procedures in attacking her.



Latimer: anguish

Latimer's anguish was clear about mandatory sentences for second-degree murder. Stupard said she can understand why Canadians might sympathize with Latimer's anguish over his daughter's pain, but added that this was different from actually supporting his crime. "He created the tragedy," said Stupard, "and he cannot be excused for his actions."

In attendance at the appeal were several people in wheelchairs as well as several women bracing against any reduction in Latimer's sentence. Following the defence arguments, the Appeal Court returned its decision in full remission. Latimer will remain free on bail, but confined to his farm near Wilton.

Pensions and MPs

After months of intense warfare in the federal Liberal caucus, Treasury Board President Art Eggleton unveiled a package of reforms to MPs' pensions. The caucus battle had been between veteran Liberals who argued that it would be unfair to slash their pension benefits and first-term MPs who pushed for deep cuts. Last week's proposals attempted to appease both sides.

Currently, retiring MPs can collect 30 per cent of their annual \$64,000 salary after six years of service, regardless of age. Cabinet ministers receive much more, with benefits reaching 75 per cent of their salary after 15 years of service. Under the proposed changes, MPs will still require six years of service to qualify for a pension, their net benefits will be reduced by about 20 per cent and, in most cases, no payments will be made until age 55. But there is an important exception. Those who contributed for six years to the old plan—about one-third of the 285 MPs—can collect benefits accumulated well prior to when they retire, regardless of age. That exception favours young but long-serving MPs such as Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, Public

Works Minister David Dingwall, Fisheries Minister Sergio Marchi, all of whom are in their late 30s or early 40s but have already served more than a decade in Parliament.

While MPs' pensions will be trimmed, they will remain twice as generous as the best in the private sector. And this is far less generous for some critics. Veterans' Leader Preston Manning decried the new plan "wealth tax" as compared with the old one, which he called "rough justice." Manning added that most of his party's MPs will take advantage of a new provision allowing them to opt out of the parliamentary pension plan.

The drunk defence

Justice Minister Allan Rock introduced legislation aimed at limiting the use of the extreme drunkenness defence in criminal trials. Rock was responding to public outrage over a Supreme Court of Canada ruling last fall that sentenced a now-19-year-old accused of sexually assaulting a 65-year-old disabled woman. The accused said he was too drunk to have formed criminal intent. The new bill would outlaw the use of drunkenness as a defence in cases involving charges such as assault and sexual assault.

Congress declines to bail out a capital on the brink of insolvency

D.C. IN THE RED

When Washington's Mayor Marion Barry visited Capitol Hill working money from Congress last week, it was largely business as usual in his cash-strapped domain. Before Residential garbage was picked up 24 hours behind schedule. People carried home letters asking permission to help repair classroom boards before the inspectors shot at least 50 of the 194 public schools. City officials promised to pay an overdue \$25 million to the trash-burner they did the next day to avoid stopping all bus service. In a city with a higher rate of breast cancer than any state, First Lady Hillary Clinton learned at a hospital forum that more than three in five Washington women took no early-warning mammogram tests last year "because they can't afford it." The *Washington Post's* weekly Crime Watch, featuring "most reports" from a police database reduced by budget cuts, listed 230 robberies (mostly garages), 165 broken thefts and four homicides, including 29-year-old Tony Williams, killed on the street by a gun fire and 85-year-old Pearlle Poyton, found dead at her home of head wounds.

The scandal city, its people steadily moving away from its crime, waste and disorder, is now financially as well as socially near bankruptcy. The mayor went to Capitol Hill to make a plea of two House of Representatives subcommittees that oversee funding for the District of Columbia, which excludes Washington. In a dark blue suit couched of the African-style apparel he often sports downtown, the noticeably late or no-show mayor for a change arrived early, with thumbs-up swagger. In back of Congress and its TV cameras, he took up a prescribed routine. Since his homecoming in the mayor's chair on Jan. 3, retaining a position he held for 11 years until his sixth month imprisonment on a drug

conviction in 1990, he has blundered through on others—mostly locally, on the metropolitan university of Sherrin Pratt Kelly. "If we don't get some relief," he said, "we are going to be persisting over the demise of the District."

The city's money troubles, Barry told a skeptical congressional panel, opens "a doorway of opportunity" for Congress to right old preexisting wrongs against the national capital. For his part, "I have carried a calling to serve the last, the lost and the least." If there is a lesson in that, it is that "our compasses as leaders of prosperity have turned into a double-edged sword in times of hardship."

But the mayor was to leave the marble halls of Congress early-headed. His six-hour hearing opened with a congressional aide's assessment that "the District could be considered insolvent since it doesn't have enough cash to pay all of its bills, and future sources of funds are uncertain." It effectively ended with a declaration that the waterlogged District Congress will certainly not provide emergency funds. (Federal

co-sponsors James Walsh, a Republican from Syracuse, N.Y., blantly told the mayor: "I will be brief as representatives here to the Congress—I can't do it, it won't pass—we give the District more money this year.")

Instead, the panel sent Barry away with instructions to slash spending, repair slippage bootlegging and shake up the city bureaucracy. Barry also faced the prospect that a Congress-appointed oversight board will drastically weaken the mayor's power, erode the locally self-government granted by Congress 30 years ago and shelve the district's own three-city council for half a century. Barry had parlayed the financial blow as a cause of underestimating due to federal misdeeds rather than municipal overpopulation and mismanagement. But co-chairman Thomas Davis, a pro-life Republican member from the district,



Police arrest suspected gang-bosses in Washington. Barry (right) empty-handed

lary suburbs in neighboring Virginia, sharply disagreed. "The District of Columbia has a spending problem of monumental proportions," he said, "and a management failure to achieve adequate or improved reductions."

Even Washington born Julia Dizon found fault with city hall. Dizon, a California Democrat, became a Barry ally in the 1980s, when he charged the D.C. apparatus with corruption. But New Yorker Walsh heads now. Barry, 56 on March 6, and Dizon, 66, both African Americans, became respectively mayor and congresswoman in January, 1991. "There is clearly a malaise within middle management of the District," said Dizon.

But the barbs of the panel's response to three hours of Barry testimony implicitly reflected assessment of him in Congress and elsewhere. His reputation of personal and political corruption. His critics openly attribute at least some of Washington's budget crisis to Barry's bloating of the municipal bureaucracy by patronage. And nobody seemed to be counting more now, hard counts of the city's employees, more than 32,000 to more than 40,000. "Take notice on the number of District personnel is difficult to verify," according to the congressional accountability report. Dizon complained that city officials were "loose with the facts."

Accusations against the Barry regime in the 1980s include looting for a crime wave that made Washington among much bigger and brutal cities for murder and other violence

Based on crimes per 100,000 population in the latest federal statistics, Washington's rate is eight times the national average for murders, five times greater for robberies and more than triple the U.S. average for assault. The charge against Barry is that, because of personal animosity to the police, he weakened and corrupted a successful city force. He had been accused half a dozen times during civil rights disturbances in the 1960s—a record as a pacifist commander against rioters that explains his shift to mayoralty among the two-thirds of Washington's citizens who are black. Within two years of taking office as mayor, Barry reduced the force by one-quarter and eliminated its share of the city budget.

In 1983, the head of the police intelligence unit reported to local authorities that Barry had been using cocaine in street nightclubs, but no charges were raised and Barry had the officer dismissed in the night club. It was the vice, not the diminished city police, who set to Barry's arrest for smoking cocaine on Jan. 30, 1990—arrested in a hotel room where he was lured by a former lover at the FBI's behest. The outrageous factors the opinion among the black majority in the city's electorate that Barry was another black victim of the white establishment.

For journalists Jerry Jellie and Tom Sherwood, authors of the 1994 book *Down City*, "the disgraced and disoriented state of the city's police department in a time of turmoil was per-



haps Barry's most lamentable legacy." That, they write, tapped the city's sense of identity and contributed to its decline. As its people 30 years ago, the city's population was about 800,000. It is now about 575,000—with a consequent shrinking of the city's tax base and revenue. The flight to Maryland suburbs—chiefly by middle class blacks—brings a racial mosaic and better schools, during Barry's first tenure in the 1980s. The refugees fled conditions that, by the latest U.S. social statistics, include a Washington

birthrate higher than the national average, but infant mortality more than double the U.S. average at 33 per 1,000 births. The local prison population, unemployment rate and proportion of residents without health insurance—a heavy dose on Washington's budget the *Kirkland*—are all higher than average.

Barry, printing money and facing down his past, won election as a city councillor after his prison term. Last September, declaring himself born again, free of drugs and with a new bride—Carm, his fourth—he won the Democratic nomination for mayor, and effectively the mayor's chair in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans 9:1. In a victory speech, he declared: "To those white people who have got whatever bias they have, get over them."

He is now among city officials under a new investigation. The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission is examining the circumstances of a \$250-million bond issue that Barry and then-Mayor Kelly arranged on Wall Street in December. At issue is whether

investors got accurate data about the city's finances. Since the start of the municipal financial year last October, city hall's violation of the deficit has ballooned to about \$1 billion over a Congress-ordered budget of \$453.5 billion.

On a national scale, the deficit is relatively small—less than half the \$2.6-billion borrowed last year last October, city hall's violation of the deficit has ballooned to about \$1 billion over a Congress-ordered budget of \$453.5 billion. On a national scale, the deficit is relatively small—less than half the \$2.6-billion borrowed last year last October, city hall's violation of the deficit has ballooned to about \$1 billion over a Congress-ordered budget of \$453.5 billion. On a national scale, the deficit is relatively small—less than half the \$2.6-billion borrowed last year last October, city hall's violation of the deficit has ballooned to about \$1 billion over a Congress-ordered budget of \$453.5 billion.

New the course of the city, as a *Washington Avenue* place plus Blacks from the White House, state-boundaries and rollerballers often court across racial lines listening on the ground state. Writing is question about the capital from the historic and the legend. It Douglas, says a quote from Douglas. It was the 19th century black leader and anti-slavery crusader. "It is our national creed that it belongs to us, and whether it is given or made, whether earned in glory or covered with shame, we cannot but share its character and its destiny." A Douglas today—perhaps a civil rights hero like Martin Luther King—was in the way the abolition of slavery in 1863. In the national capital has become so often more. □

Referendum jitters

BY BRUCE WALLACE

There are not as many as a half-century of Canadians who sit in the House of Lords at Westminster. One of them is William Graham Shaughnessy, Lord Shaughnessy, the 3rd Baron Shaughnessy of Montreal. But rarely do his British peers approach him to ask what an earth is going on back in the old colony these days. "Oh, there's the old question now and then," Lord Shaughnessy said one afternoon last week, sipping old scotch with ice in the wood-paneled Peers' Great Room at Westminster during a break between committee meetings. But there are no British Lords demanding to know how it has come to be that the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in Canada is a Quebec separatist. Or why another referendum on separation—which they assumed had been resolved with the defeat of the René Lévesque pact 15 years ago—is in the offing sometime this year. "It hurts me, but frankly much of the affection for Canada, the spiritual connection, has gone out of the Brits," said the 75-year-old former business mogul. "We're just another country to them now."

It was not always thus. Forty years ago, when Lord Shaughnessy made his maiden speech in the House of Lords, Canada was something of a hot topic in the United Kingdom. British parliamentarians were under furious pressure from Quebec nationalists and Canada's native groups in 1962, part of a last-ditch effort to block Pierre Trudeau's patriation of the Canadian constitution. Interest in native issues persists—there are always plenty of British politicians who can rouse themselves into indignation over the Canadian government's treatment of what many in the Lords still call "the Red Indians." It is not quite the same in the City of London, the financial heart of the capital, where Canadian workers are starting to talk openly about risk factors attached to the Quebec situation. But on the political front and in the streets, there is normally no curiosity about the Quebec referendum, with as remote can as from the 1930s and 1940s.

In fact, unless it involves a brutal beating (as videotape or an accused serial killer named Bimbo, news from Canada gets little international coverage—not even in the old mother countries, France and Britain. Just as Canada has embraced multiculturalism and turned



Separatist fervor in Montreal risks factors

towards the developing markets in Asia and the Americas, post-Cold War Europe has averted its gaze. European governments are preoccupied with their own problems, whether to expand their economic union into a stronger political one and how to contain the Balkan war, with one eye warily fixed on the abidance on Kosovo here. In that environment, Quebec's lively debate on separation rarely attracts attention. "There still always be traditional Canada in France who are sympathetic to Quebec," notes Ronald Bouchard, Canada's ambassador to France. "But I never, never hear here about the issue during the course of normal business."

Of course, Quebec separatism still has a bit of bite, and can cause a headache or two for Ottawa abroad. Bouchard himself found that out when he tried to downplay Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau's achievement during the Prime Minister's visit to Paris in January. To the delight of separatist back home, the Canadian ambassador was chastised by the travelling Quebec press corps for supposedly insulting Philippe Seguin, president of the French National Assembly. Bouchard had called Seguin a "boon companion," his reporter to the

French politician's warm endorsement for Parleau. "But it never made the papers," said an anonymous Bouchard in an interview with *Maclean's* last week. "French politicians just enjoy talking a nice, daring, more dangerous approach to foreign allies."

Britain's Prime Minister John Major also cautioned Canadian officials in January when he warned against opposition calls to give Scotland more local autonomy, unless it Scots really wanted to be the cheerleaders of the United Kingdom. Canadian high commission officials quickly sought—and got—reassurance from the Tory government that they had not meant to mock Quebec or to meddle in Canada's internal affairs. "We are not looking to export this issue overseas," said one London diplomat who helped carry the message to his counterparts in Britain's Foreign Office. "Foreign governments are asking us: Is there something we can do? And our answer is always: 'Thanks but no.' Our attitude is that no one is good news."

Canadian diplomats need not worry. European political circles did not turn on the latest flap of constitutional news from Quebec City. While Winston Spivak, Scott's fiery nationalist leader, remained loudly about Canada's post-federation separatist battles between Pierre Trudeau and Lévesque during an interview with *Maclean's* last year, she also revealed that she knew little about the current resurgence of nationalist ardor. And Louise Beaudoin, now a PQ cabinet minister who has previously represented Quebec's interests in Paris, asked during Lucien Bouchard's trip to France last May that the French had become confused on the issue. "Now they say to us: 'You can't come back to us every 20 years and expect us to get worked up,'" she said.

Basically, few foreigners expect Quebec to take the ultimate step of breaking up a 127 country. And that is why, as the one segment of the international community that does watch Quebec developments with

WASHINGTON'S QUEBEC MANTRA

Just six weeks before President Bill Clinton's visit to Canada last week, a senior U.S. state department official rudely blew the official line on Quebec separatism.

Responding to questions at a foreign-policy briefing in Washington on Jan. 11, political undersecretary Peter Tarnoff retorted: "We are very strong supporters of one Canada. Period. The next day, in the face of a mild media flap in Canada—that is, a presidential U.S. intervention in the Quebec referendum debate—the state department added its usual no-interference qualifier: "Canada's future is for Canadians to decide."

Last week, as White House advisers briefed reporters on Clinton's Ottawa trip, they mostly took the low known as Canadian diplomatic circles as the mantra: "We don't

want to be seen as interfering on behalf of, or against, any particular point of view on the issue." But surely, the words added, the U.S. government is at least studying what to do of Quebecers do form a new nation? "That's a hypothetical political question," came the rote response.

But one state department authority on self-determination issues privately, with only for Washington to act precipitously in recognizing Quebec as a nation. Active U.S. considerations of recognizing a separate Quebec would likely begin only after Ottawa and Quebec City had agreed to increment terms. Ottawa knew the official word would be posted in Washington's decision: whether to establish formal diplomatic relations and to negotiate Quebec's admission to the 1989 U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement and the 1989 NAFTA pact.

But outside government, Canada-watcher Joseph Juchacz argues that the official U.S. best-out policy "may have to change." Juchacz is both a visiting professor at the Center of

Quebec House in London: the price of ascertainment

interest, those people whose business it is to follow Canadian affairs, there is little sign of panic. The political dictionary may take place in Paris. But the trade relationship that matters to Quebec is the British connection—U.K.-Quebec trade is 80-per-cent greater than the province's trade with France.

And the City of London's investment community remains sanguine about Quebec independence, says David Tord, managing director of Merrill Lynch International in London, a leading underwriter of Quebec bond issues (which also, coincidentally, employs Quebec finance minister Jean Charpentier's son, Louis Charpentier). Says Tord: "They have been told so many times that we are coming in a critical point, with everyone watching but the window only to find that nothing had changed. But they are now not so concerned about Quebec as those Canadians who might be looking at the near-up date."

As a result, foreign investors insist that their main worry when it comes to Canada is the size of the federal debt and deficit, not the possibility of Quebec independence. "With or without Quebec, Canada is still going to have to do it some," says Tarnoff. But, a warning: Canada's Merrill Lynch's New York City office, said, Merrill Lynch investors were noticeably concerned about how City of London investors regarded their claim that they helped the Quebec government hastily

Canadian Studies in Washington's John H. Garvey, Scholar of Advanced International Studies and a senior associate of the Canada Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Although "it clearly is in the interest of the United States that Canada remain united," Juchacz argues in a study published in January, "it would be in the interest of the United States, if Canada did in fact break up to pursue close relations with both Canada and Quebec."

He says, however, it is "extremely unlikely" that—even secretly—there is any official U.S. premium for negotiating a Canada-Quebec-United States relationship. "The U.S. foreign policy apparatus is geared towards putting out fires after they break out," says Juchacz. So far, there is only the risk of the recurring Canada-Quebec debate. And unless there are disasters, official policy south of the border favors one Canada—that is, as long as Canadians, including Quebecers, agree.

CARL MORGAN in Washington

corporate luncheon at London's Waldorf Hotel on Feb. 17. Representatives of 20 investment houses were invited to hear Alan Rheame, Quebec's deputy finance minister, give a status report on the Quebec situation.

The meeting might have been expected to produce sharp questions from (story investors), coming, as it did, more than a week after Rheame's boss, Couillard, had speculated in reporters in Montreal that an "independent Quebec might renege on paying its share of the national debt, but the questions from the floor were more challenging," says Ray Fraser, vice-president of debt acquisition for the Banque Nationale de Paris, who attended the meeting. "Most people just want the information over with," says Fraser. "The attitude is just facts, nothing. No one likes uncertainty."

For now, investors appear content to

in Bonn, Germany. NAV owes 30 per cent of the \$1.4-billion Alouette aluminum smelter in Sept-Dec, Que., an investment made in 1980. The German company is not overly concerned about separation, says Niederhoffer, because it exports its products to European markets. On the other hand, he says, companies that established businesses in Quebec in order to take advantage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are worried by Washington's assertion that an independent Quebec would have to comply for admissions to the free trade zone. "NAFTA is what people are looking at," he says. "Since an independent Quebec would have to renege, people are saying 'Why not wait to see how it turns out?'"

Such sentiments indicate one danger of dragging out the "to leave or not to leave" debate. It would be folly to believe that



Parliament meeting. French President François Mitterrand, here, heads for Ottawa

accept common polls that suggest that Quebecers will not leave Confederation. But the French opportunity about the long term future does carry a price. "Our only sin is that independence is not going to happen, but quite clearly politics is an issue and some people will hesitate to buy Quebec paper ahead of a referendum," says Roger Thériault, senior vice-president at ScotiaMcLeod in London. "Obviously, no credit officers zero risk," says Merrill Lynch's Tary. "And Quebec offers a slightly higher price because of the uncertainty." Last week, Quebec government bonds offered a significantly higher rate of return than those of other provinces. Even debt holders in Quebec are selling 10-year bonds at only 41 basis points (0.1/100ths of a percentage point) higher than Canadian government bonds. Quebec's bonds traded at 84 basis points above the Canadian rate.

"If you do not have to make an investment decision in Quebec right now, you are better off waiting a couple of months," says Otto Niedecker, president of NAV Aluminium Canada Inc. from his head office

Canada and Quebec's law international news profile means that no harm is being done to the country's economic standing by the confusion. Take the case of Quebec City's bid for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. Quebec politicians complained loudly when Canadian International Olympic Committee representative Richard Pound suggested that the province's uncertain political future was hurting the bid. But Pound insists that the issue must be addressed, not ducked. "Quebec politicians reacted hysterically to something that is self-evident," a mystified Pound said in an interview last week. "It's often the first question people ask us: 'The Quebec issue is not there for people who know and, what ever you think of IOC members, they know about international affairs.'"

That is a message Canada and Quebec politicians must all avoid to ignore, most of the foreigners who care about Canada's political future are the ones who have a hard-fought relationship at heart.

By MARGARET DALGLISH in Toronto

CASHING IN ON THE REFERENDUM

In his office in Hartford, Conn., 300 km south of the Quebec border, David Maize is doing Canada's business where it's hot. For Maize, managing director of Aetna Life and Casualty, who helps invest the company's \$49-billion bond portfolio, swatches developments in Canada as he does those anywhere outside the United States—with an eye to making money on a foreign investment. And now, Maize frankly acknowledges, uncertainty surrounding the coming Quebec referendum is creating an attractive buying opportunity with the likelihood that Canadian bond yields will rise. "We like Canada," says Maize. "It's a highly rated credit and it has a large, liquid market. We are a fairly active investor in it." Aetna usually holds between \$500 million and \$1 billion in Canadian debt, he says, and over the next few months it may increase that amount.

During that time, the markets will probably grow increasingly anxious about the outcome of the referendum, he says, pushing up interest rates on Canadian debt in general, and Quebec debt in particular. "That is tied to the uncertainties that may be created by the referendum and the fiscal situation in Quebec," he says. But, he adds, "In my view, those concerns are probably overdone." As a result, Aetna may step into the market to buy more Canadian bonds as they offer more attractive rates than other issues. Said Maize: "I think, yeah, there probably will be buying opportunities before the referendum."

That strategy could backfire, of course, if Quebecers voted in favor of separation. Peter Platt, an analyst who follows Canada for Salomon Brothers Inc. in New York City, says many of his clients are becoming wary about Canada. Says Platt: "They're saying 'We don't understand the political situation but we do understand the financial situation and we're just going to wait this one out on the sidelines.'"

But Maize, like many other U.S. investment managers, is taking his investment strategy on confidence that Quebecers will vote against separation when the referendum is held. In any case, concerns about the Quebec political situation pales in comparison to investors' worries about the debt and deficits of the governments of Canada, Ontario and Quebec. "There's no question, Canada's high level of debt is in the driving credit issue," Maize notes. Besides, in the larger context of world investment, Maize does not spend a lot of time worrying about any of Canada's problems. "With everything that's going on in the emerging markets like Mexico," he says, "Canada is not the thing that's keeping people awake at night—or it's a fairly good weekend business."

By MARGARET DALGLISH

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World NOTES

IN FROM THE COLD

France asked the United States to recall four of its diplomats and the Paris head of the Central Intelligence Agency for "activities incompatible with their status"—the usual diplomatic term for spying. But the Americans, accusing the French of trying to distract attention from internal political problems, said the diplomats would serve out their terms. French officials leaked the recall request to the newspaper *Le Monde*, which said the Americans were suspected of political and economic espionage.

ALGERIA BATTLE

Algerian security forces stormed a top-security prison in the capital of Algiers to end what they called a mutiny by militant Islamic inmates. Officials said that four guards and 96 prisoners were killed in the incident, which one Algerian Islamic leader called a deliberate massacre. An estimated 30,000 people have died in the government's war with the outlawed Islamic Salvation Front.

FUNDAMENTALIST VIOLENCE

Muslim gunmen killed 20 worshippers in attacks on two Shiite Muslim mosques in Karachi, Pakistan, where 154 people have died in a month of ethnic and sectarian unrest. A radical Shiite group vowed retaliation against the majority Sunni Muslims. The issue of Islamic fundamentalism made its way to a high court, which overturned the conviction of two Christians, one of them 14 years old, who had been sentenced to hang for blasphemy against Islam. Rejecting the prosecution's evidence, one judge said it seemed "some extremists were trying to create provocation and mischief."

MARINES TO THE RESCUE?

U.S. officials said President Bill Clinton was considering sending thousands of U.S. troops to the former Yugoslavias to protect the UN peacekeeping force that may soon leave Croatia. Croatia has dispatched the 12,000 peacekeepers—predominantly 1,800 Canadians—to leave unless they disarm Serbian forces in occupied Croatian territory.

SHIP OF FUELS

A freighter bound for Japan by an undetected route left France carrying 12 tons of highly radioactive material from the reprocessing of Japan's spent nuclear fuel. Environmentalists say they are not satisfied that the containers could withstand fire or collision. The residue is more radioactive than the reprocessed plutonium itself, which France has been shipping back to Japan since 1980.



FUTURE WARRIORS: Shiite Muslim children in Beirut march over U.S. and Israeli flags in a symbolic protest against Jewish control of Jerusalem. The so-called Jerusalem Day parade was sponsored by the militant Iran-backed Hezbollah (Party of God), which threatened to rocket Jewish settlements in the West Bank of Israel continued shelling Muslim civilians in south Lebanon.

Will there be peace?

After almost two years of rocky negotiations, Britain and Ireland unveiled a historic peace plan for war-torn Northern Ireland. British Prime Minister John Major and his Irish counterpart, John Bruton, said their "Framework document" was an attempt to build on a six-month-old ceasefire, resolve and create a lasting settlement to 35 years of sectarian conflict in the British-Irish province. It suggests a 90-seat parliament for the region, an all-Ireland body to foster economic links, an end to loyal Anglo-Irish territorial claims and the chance of a reunited Ireland if most of the region's people agree.

There is a minority Roman Catholic province backed the plan. But the immediate reaction of most Protestant Unionists was cordoned-out—with the same vehemence that torpedoed a similar plan in 1973. Said Ken Maginnis of the Ulster Unionist Party: "I accept it, it would be accepting surrender."

agreed for will of the greater number of people in Northern Ireland that would eventually manifest as a united Ireland."

Tough medicine

U.S. and Mexican officials reached agreement on a \$10-billion aid package aimed at helping Mexico pay off short-term dollar debts that have pushed the country to the brink of bankruptcy. Mexico secured the U.S. loan guarantees, the linchpin of a \$70-billion international aid plan, with its oil export revenues and a new to keep a lid on monetary policy. The aid had barely dried on President Bill Clinton's lap when it ballooned before the emergency aid was set to back up the rescue package began to flow. Mexico's central bank dove to short-term interest rates to 18 per cent at midnight—their highest level in almost seven years—prompting some Mexican economists to predict mass bankruptcies by hard-hit companies.

THE RED AND THEBLACK

Alberta and New Brunswick tackle their deficits with more cuts

Ralph Klein still has his trophies: awards from the Fraser Institute and the National Citizens Coalition, accolades from the prestigious financial newspaper, *The Wall Street Journal*. And now Alberta's Conservative premier has a new accomplishment under his belt—but week, provincial Treasurer Jim Dinning announced that, in the past year, Alberta ran its first budgetary surplus in a decade, thanks largely to windfall oil-and-gas revenues. But that happy message had scarcely escaped Dinning's lips when he turned the bad news. The treasurer announced a 1995-1996 budget that is projected to save \$500 million in the red, despite continued haphazard spending restraints and fee hikes. "This is a way the course budget," declared Dinning. "There is one more tough year ahead of us, and then 90 per cent of our spending cuts will be done."

That way-the-course budget, however, had an unintended side-effect, it means that, suddenly, Klein's Alberta is no longer the sole act of Canada's deficit elimination show. Three lines point away on the same day, New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna's Liberal government announced a surplus budget for 1995-1996—the elimination of eight bad years of deficit spending. And a week before that, Saskatchewan's New Democratic government announced surplus budgets for both the past year (1994-1995) and the year to come (1995-1996). For his part, however, Klein's minister of health, "We could do like Saskatchewan or New Brunswick did, and I could balance the budget tomorrow," said the premier. "All I've got to do is raise taxes by a point. But that part of the Alberta advantage is to keep our tax structure as low as we possibly can."

In fact, New Brunswick, like Saskatchewan, did blend spending cuts with tax increases over the years to reach its balanced budget



McKENNA

targets. McKenna increased the personal income tax rate—which stood at 60 per cent of the basic federal tax in 1961—to 64 per cent over two years, although he is offering modest tax relief and no personal tax hikes in his latest budget. On the spending side, New Brunswick froze civil service salaries and streamlined education and health care. And it has eliminated the equivalent of about 3,600 full-time civil service jobs—with 406 more set to go in the year to come. Overall program spending, however, is projected to remain unchanged at \$3.7 billion in 1995-1996.

Alberta, by contrast, has held the line on taxes—a few user fees notwithstanding

instead, it has implemented deep spending reductions that will continue this year when another 507 full-time civil servants will lose their jobs—on top of the 4,500 that were cut over the past two years. In all, Klein's government is looking off 3.8 per cent, or \$178 million, from program expenditures in 1995-1996. More than half that decrease, \$78 million, will come out of the health-care budget. At the same time, Klein's government boosted kindergarten programs again: they will rise by \$24 per person to \$669 a year, or by \$66 per family to \$650 a year—adding the government an extra \$56 million. Both the health cuts and new takes drew fire from

advocacy groups and from the opposition. "Health-care programs are one of the most regressive and pernicious taxes," declared Liberal Leader Grant Mitchell in the halls of the legislature after Dinning's budget announcement. "And it is the average Albertan who is paying for these cuts."

The average Albertan, however, actually supports the government's deficit elimination efforts, recent polls show, although a majority oppose certain elements of the plan, like paying back kindergarten funding from 400 hours a year to just 208. In its latest budget, the government responded to public criticism by budgeting an extra \$10 million for kindergartens—to cover 240 hours of instruction for each child this year. But changes in accounting methods made

■ Nova Scotia's Finance Minister Allan Rock (center), Klein (left) and Dinning progress



cuts in education spending seem even more benign. Last year's budget document projected a 32.4-per-cent reduction in education spending over the four years of the deficit elimination campaign. The budget document released last week shows a 5.6-per-cent decline over that period—a difference that almost entirely is the new accounting method.

Though confusing, the new figures actually show a more complete picture of government spending and revenues. Equally confusing—and open to misinterpretation—are economic indicators. Government budgets are based on a host of assumptions that can sometimes go wildly off track. In 1991, for example, then-Alberta Treasurer Dick Johnston miscalculated what he said would be a balanced budget, based on projections that oil would go to \$23 (\$15) a barrel. When the price increases fell well short of that mark, Johnston's budget was more than \$1 billion in the red.

Last week, the opposition in both Alberta and New Brunswick lambasted government estimates, though for very different reasons. In New Brunswick, critics charged that the government's projected \$100-million increase from tax revenues—because more people will be working—is overly optimistic. The critics also noted that it is in contradiction that the "good news budget" serves as a possible prelude to no election this year. Still, McKenna's other economic projections seemed relatively conservative. The province is aiming for real economic growth of 3.7 per cent for 1995, close to the 2.8-per-cent projection by the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, a Halifax-based forecasting organization. "That figure is quite realistic and sustainable," and AREC chief economist Marlene Mandile.

For its part, Alberta is also projecting 3.7 per cent growth for the fiscal year. The difference is that most independent analysts, at least on government assumptions, are projecting a provincial growth rate of about 3.5 per cent. Using a more realistic and complicated set of calculations, Alberta has also built in a \$304-million "cushion"—all oil and gas and corporate tax revenues that the government expects to receive, but is not counting in the budget. For example, the Alberta government

estimates that oil prices will average \$18 (1.3) per barrel in 1995-1996 and that gas prices will average \$1.30 per 1000 cubic feet—reasonable estimates to begin with. If those numbers are correct, the greens would expect to collect \$2.5 billion in natural resource taxes. But for budget planning purposes, the government only counts 90 per cent of that \$2.5 billion.

Critics claimed that Dinning deliberately lowballed revenue projections to make the fiscal situation seem worse than it is—and to mislead voters on the required spending. "Within seven \$100 million," said Ross Harvey, leader of Alberta's New Democrats, "a creative provincial treasurer can make the budget as virtually anything he wants." But Dinning denied any attempt to manipulate the numbers, saying that the volatility of oil and gas prices leaves it to government revenue earners in the past. "I'm doing what any treasurer should do," he said, "and that is budget conservatively."

Whatever the Alberta government's intentions, it faced an unusual contradiction: last year the province's economic growth projections barely coincided with Premier Klein's promise of an "Alberta advantage"—an economic boom born of low tax rates. The province's debt was the subject of equally contradictory messages. When Klein went on TV in January to deliver a provincial open talk on the importance of sticking to spending restraints, he insisted that "our provincial debt is close to \$32 billion." Last week, however, when Dinning introduced legislation that would mandate payments on the provincial debt each year after 1997, the treasurer talked only of eliminating the \$8.3-billion net debt—that is, the \$21.7-billion gross debt minus \$13.3 billion in assets and \$5.1 billion in pension liabilities. Dinning pointed out that the government has a separate plan in place to eliminate pension liabilities. And he said that interest earned on such assets as Heritage Fund investments offset other payments on a large part of the debt, it is only on the \$8.3-billion net debt, he argued that the province is "indebted."

Opposition Liberals accused Dinning of minimizing the magnitude of the problem. They say that he should take a bigger chunk of the debt. But if Dinning comes off sounding well on debt, he is certainly hard when it comes to economic projections. That may make good political sense, perhaps good economic sense, too. But it also means that Alberta is planning on a deficit next year, while others promise or project surpluses.

For now at least, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick appear to have outpaced Alberta in the deficit elimination race.

HARRY NEMETH is columnist with *JOHN DEMAGNO* in *Windsor*



Canadian airlines are right to fly

Open season in the air

Airlines get free access across the U.S. border

The real winners from the opening of air routes between Canada and the United States are frequent flyers. The Calgary-based lawyer Richard Dixon. Within the next few months, the Long Meadow partner will finally be able to jet directly from his home office to west side and gas industry clients in Houston on Air Canada flight. Right now, that flight entails a time-consuming transfer in Dallas. Says Dixon: "Open skies is a godsend for me and other business people. It will let us go straight from point A to B and save on time and aggravation."

The prospect of open skies also brings visions of soaring profits at Canada's two major airlines, a remarkable turnaround from the near ruinous combined losses of more than \$2 billion in the past three years at Montreal-based Air Canada and 1993 Corp of Calgary, parent of Canadian Airlines International Ltd. During U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Ottawa last week, he and Prime Minister Jean Chretien finally signed an agreement to deregulate air travel between the two countries. Under the old rules, Canadian carriers were blocked out of 40 per cent of the 77 U.S. cities. For example, no Air Canada or 1993 jet was allowed to land at railroad passengers in Detroit's and Philadelphia's airports. But with a stroke of the pen last week, Canadian airlines won the right to unilaterally fly into any U.S. city, while U.S. airlines will get access to Canadian airports over the next three years. Montreal-based airline analyst Jacques Rivest

of Libesque Beaudin Geoffroy Inc. says "Open skies is a very positive development for Canada's airlines. They just can't lose."

Even before the open skies deal was signed, however, Air Canada was taking flight. It reported profits of \$19 million in 1994, up from a punishing \$225-million loss the previous year. The airline also forecast profits of more than \$180 million for 1995, with plans to add 20 new routes to the United States. Air Canada carried 400,000 more passengers last year than in 1993, while getting more flying time out of its planes through simple measures like increasing the amount of maintenance done at night. Air Canada chief operating officer Jean-Jacques Beaudoin noted, "One element of our success in 1994 was operational excellence. We see that success continuing and year with expansion in the U.S. market."

The financial picture, however, remained slightly overcast at debt-burdened 1993, where the strength of the U.S. dollar, rising interest rates, a three-week strike at a regional carrier and the temporary grounding of 25 small planes for safety reasons last fall translated into a \$20-million loss for 1994. Still, that was a marked improvement over

the \$292 million in red ink spilled in 1990. PWA forecasts a \$52-million profit for 1995, a projection that is partly based on more flights to U.S. destinations. Said PWA senior vice-president of finance Drew Frick: "There's opportunity for us in open skies, although we're taking a more gradual approach than Air Canada."

Boycotters from both airlines downplayed the potential threat that they face from U.S. carriers in Canada—despite the great disparity between the size of Canadian and U.S. airlines. AMR Corp.'s American Airlines of Fort Worth, Tex., has a fleet of more than 400 planes compared with PWA's 10 aircraft and Air Canada's 187. For one thing, major U.S. carriers are struggling with debt left by aggressive expansion in the 1980s, and, says Air Canada's Beaudoin, "The U.S. industry is not healthy. They show little interest in a price war over domestic Canada."

But some things will not change under open skies. Certainly, the new policies will only intensify the flagships between Air Canada and PWA, containing possibilities that cropped last year when the two carriers scraped over the right to fly into Asia. Back then, it was expected to erupt over 13 coveted landing slots at New York City's La Guardia airport and 19 slots at Chicago's O'Hare airport. The Canadian government will be awarding these spots in the next few weeks. Air Canada chief executive Hollis Hurns has already declared that awarding PWA the New York slots "would be a travesty of justice." For his part, Transport Minister Doug Young suggested last week that both carriers should "take a Valium" until he makes his decision—based on "common sense"—about the routes.

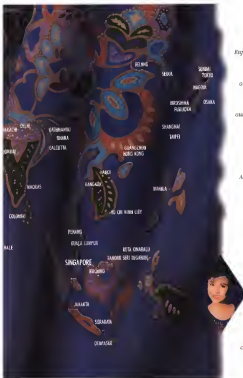


Hurns, no price war

Continental Airlines and Delta Airlines. Hurns will stress a focus in Atlanta and beyond north every few weeks.

Right now, he takes a Delta flight because Air Canada does not yet serve Atlanta. But under the new rules, Hurns will be flying directly home on his own airline. That makes the Air Canada CEO a winner in the open skies.

ANDREW WOLFE



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SINGAPORE AIRLINES



Changing the face of the farm



Donner's Acres seeking genetically engineered vaccines for livestock

BY BRENDA DALGLISH

The problem was that the rats would die. The Saskatoon company had sought the approval of federal regulators to begin selling a new product aimed at increasing crop production. The agriculture biotechnology company wanted to use micro-organisms—in this case, a fungus—that enables plants to grow better. Regulators, however, were concerned about the environmental impact of releasing large quantities of the micro-organisms. They told the company to perform tests to determine the toxicity of the fungus by feeding it to white rats to increasing amounts, until the rats died. Months passed but the rats did not die. On the contrary, they seemed to thrive on a diet of fungus. Eventually, persuaded that the micro-organisms were not toxic to rats, the regulators then requested a test on birds. They told the company to feed two hens the fungus, as well as letting it to a quail, a bird no larger than a small goose. The outcome was predictable: "Two hens of anything fed to a quail at one time is going to kill it," recalls one industry participant.

"It exploded." And, indeed, the quail died. The accident is making the news in Saskatoon. The capital of agricultural biotechnology in Canada. The point is that Ottawa's bureaucrats are so nervous about approving even the mildest, least controversial biotechnology products that they will go to almost

The biotechnology revolution produces new crops and better farming techniques

lengths to avoid giving a final ruling on whether a product is safe for widespread use. The point of the same story from the regulators' perspective is that when dealing with the emerging biotechnology industry a regulator can hardly be too careful. But for enough opponents of the genetic manipulation of Canada's food supply, the lesson is that the government's safety tests are inadequate in determining the long-term effects of the new technologies.

Despite such trials and tribulations, Canada's agriculture biotechnology industry has come of age. Although the commercial potential of biotechnology only began to be recognized 10 years ago, the 210 biotech companies in Canada had revenues of \$1.7 billion in 1993. Despite the difficulties of raising capital, the so-called ag-biotech sector of the industry, which includes about 80 companies in Canada, is thriving. Some have even reached the stage of selling shares to the public. The range of the industry is broad. There are companies that genetically engineer plants to resist frost after long storage periods, others that use micro-organisms to enhance fertilizers and one that makes genetically engineered vaccines that will turn bad flu virus into harmless, non-replicating vaccines. In the medical field, plants are being grown that enable them to grow pharmaceutical products, like the cancer drug interferon, in greater volumes and at lower prices than would be possible using conventional laboratory production methods.

The work of many of the agriculture biotechnology companies is based on genetic engineering. In the past, genetic traits could only be passed between plants of the same kind that could be cross-bred. Now, however, new techniques permit scientists to remove individual genes from one living organism and transplant them into another. The result is a transfer of genetic traits between plants and animals that could not occur by natural reproductive techniques. Scientists at the University of Calgary, for instance, have transplanted a human gene into corn plants. The aim is to determine whether it is possible to use the plant to manufacture a protein with immunological properties for humans.

Proponents say that agriculture biotechnology is the best hope for increasing food production to sustain the world's growing population. In addition, scientists say that the new technologies are creating remarkable bio-products from genetically engineered crops—grown in so-called factory fields—that are capable of replacing products now made from non-renewable resources. Corn plants, which are used to produce ethanol cooking oil, can now have their genetic structure altered again to produce tailor-made industrial oils and vehicle fuels. The corns also are not only renewable, experts say that they cause less environmental pollution than traditional petroleum-based products. Still, some experts warn that there is a danger that the new technologies can also create natural hybrids that pose unforeseeable dangers to the ecosystem. "I wouldn't say that we're playing God, but we are helping nature," said Kathy Kartha, research director of the Plant Biotechnology Institute in Saskatoon. "The technology is opening up all kinds of opportunities," added Kartha. "But there are risks, and we must be extremely careful about deciding what is good for society."

The principal goal of most agricultural biotechnology companies is to increase the value and profits of crops and livestock production. Two of the best-known and most controversial biotech products to reach supermarkets are the Flavr Savr tomatoes—first locally engineered by Calgene Inc. of Davis, Calif., to produce a fruit that tastes good long after it has been picked—and bromate growth hormone (BGH), also known as bovine somatotropin (BST), a hormone that increases milk production in cows. The Flavr Savr is now on sale in some parts of the United States, while the sale of BGH is under a voluntary moratorium in Canada at least until July. Milk produced using BGH is no sale in the United States.

Nonetheless is the debate over the commercial potential of agricultural biotechnology more lively felt than in Saskatoon. It has become the capital of industry research in Canada—and one of the top five centres in the world. One of the leaders is Murray McLaughlin, president of Ag-West Biotech Inc., a private company established by the Saskatchewan government in 1980 to support the development of the biotech industry. Its office supports the University of Saskatchewan's research, overlooking the Prairie provinces

GROWING COMPANIES

The range of products currently being developed by Canada's agricultural biotechnology companies is broad. A snapshot of some of Saskatchewan's 27 biotechnology companies.

● **Philon Bios Inc.** and **Microbia Biosciences Corp.** (1984) use similar technologies to produce micro-organisms that, when added on seed, as it is sown, work with the root system of the germinating plant to increase its nutrient intake. This increases crop production and cuts down on the use of expensive fertilizers. **Philon Bios** uses a rhizobial soil fungus, *perillolium blati*, to help the plant take up phosphate, one of the three most important plant nutrients. **Microbia** produces a naturally occurring bacterium, *Agrobacterium*, to help them absorb water through another key nutrient. Said John Cross, who founded **Philon** in 1980: "In a teaspoon of soil, there are 10 million micro-organisms. Our task is to figure out which of them are the good guys that help plants grow." The technology **Cross** uses was developed by **Agriculture Canada**, which receives a royalty payment each year based on **Philon Bios'** sales.

will be produced. Murray Trapp, a banker for 22 years before becoming an entrepreneur, says that financing was one of his company's most difficult tasks. "The banks don't want to finance you," said Trapp. "How do they take a mortgage on an intangible asset? It's a little difficult here, but in respect, it required a partner who is able to supply the capital it needs."

● **Cannosin Inc.** is a company started by John Shaw, a former federal bureaucrat, to develop products from oats for the cosmetic industry. **Cannosin** is using a patented refining process to break down oats into about 20 separate powders and liquids. **Cannosin** has begun selling to cosmetic plants like **Chesebrough-Pond's**, **Avon Products** and **Estée Lauder**. Shaw says that oats, which have been proven to soothe irritated skin, produce a powder that can replace talc, a mineral mined from deposits running parallel to asbestos, a known carcinogen. Shaw says that asking raw materials for the international cosmetic industry has been pretty profitable. "A ton of oats costs about \$114," said Shaw, "and the value of our preserved products ranges from \$5 a kilogram up to \$1,000 a kilogram—on the latter price, that would work out to about \$1 million per ton of oats. And," added Shaw, "the interesting thing is that the cosmetics industry isn't regulated."

● **Multinational chemical companies**, including **Affinity Inc.**, **Monsanto Co.**, **DuPont Canada**, **Fertilizers Ltd.**, **Cymonad and Cando Fertilizers Ltd.**, are developing new strains of the major crop plants that are resistant to the chemical herbicides that they already sell. By creating more commercial plant varieties that can survive applications of their herbicides, the companies expect to expand their sales. **Plant Genetic Systems**, a Belgian company, opened its North American headquarters in Saskatoon because of the city's leading role in Canada research. **PGS** specializes in molecular genetic research and crop development.

B. D. in Saskatoon

Trapp (left): How do you take a mortgage on an intangible asset?



at the edge of the city. Says MacIsaac: "If we do things right with biotech, we can produce healthier, safer foods in a much more environmentally sensitive way." He adds that the rapid growth of Saskatchewan's biotech industry has surprised even its most enthusiastic supporters. Almost all of Saskatchewan's 27 biotechnology companies are in the city, coming from small startups to large multinational companies (page 40).

Another driving force is Sophie Acres, president of Saskatoon-based BioStar Inc., which produces veterinary pharmaceuticals using biotechnology techniques. He says that Saskatoon has produced a biotechnology industry by capitalizing on the established research facilities that exist on the university campus. BioStar is using research conducted by the University of Saskatchewan's Veterinary Infection Disease Organization, of which Acres was a former director, to produce vaccines that prevent infectious diseases in livestock. Acres says that BioStar is also close to seeking regulatory approval for a vaccine that will use genetic alteration techniques to rid the mechanism of infection of animals, a process that protects growth. The vaccine will eradicate the virus in cattle animals that cause them to fight and thus make their meat more strong, while retaining the potential for larger and larger growth.

That vaccine, like BioStar's other products, began its research done at the University of Saskatchewan. Indeed, the university's agriculture research facilities are the foundation on which much of the industry is built. For almost a century, in cooperation with other federal and provincial research organizations on the campus, the university has carried out extensive crop and livestock research. Initially, the work concentrated on breeding strains of wheat that would withstand the ravages of Saskatchewan's harsh climate and voracious pests. The early stages of ag biotech started in the 1960s when Keith Downey, an Agricultural Canada scientist in Saskatoon, began to develop oilseed canola. Until then, the plant,

which is related to the hemp, was known as rape and was grown primarily as animal crop feedstock.

As a result of Downey's success, canola is now a valuable oilseed plant that produces a cooking oil that is lower in saturated fat than most other oils. Researchers are studying the potential of canola as an industrial oil and vehicle fuel as well. The new prospects for canola have profited farmers, as well as consumers. Last year, the crop generated almost \$2 billion in revenue and is rapidly gaining on wheat, which brought in revenue of almost \$3.7 billion.

In the early 1980s, at about the time when the commercial potential of canola and biotechnology were being explored, a revolution swept the agricultural sector in Europe and North America into a decade-long decline. On the Prairies, thousands of family farms went wiped out. Grain prices dropped to levels not seen since the Depression of the 1930s and supply gluts in the industrialized world flooded global markets. That crisis prompted farmers, governments, universities and the private sector to begin reconsidering the future prospects of Canadian agriculture.

Ag biotech appeared to provide solutions to many of the problems posed by the market slump. It created new applications for industrial crops or increased the yield per hectare. Ag biotech also altered the potential of new, higher-value crops and products that could be exported to larger foreign markets. Above all, like the computer software industry, it provides well-paying, high-skilled jobs.

From the beginning, federal and provincial governments have provided crucial start-up support for Canada's biotech industry. In fact, Ottawa recognized the potential of the sector more than a decade ago when it gave the National Research Council a specific mandate to pursue biotechnology in 1983. In January, Ralph Goodale, federal minister for agriculture and ag food, and MP for Regina/Winnipeg,

But as with all knowledge-based technology companies, financing has been a challenge because most traditional lenders are reluctant to loan money to those whose main assets are good ideas. Garry Page, a Blaguer consultant, decided that if MicroGen would build its operations in town, the town could help with its financing. In October, 1990, Page called a meeting of a few Blaguer residents to discuss an investment. "I had some guys tell these other people," Page said, "and at the second meeting about 30 people showed up." Page says that residents of Blaguer were eager to invest—especially after the project qualified for inclusion in registered retirement savings plans.

The first phase of the MicroGen project will create almost 50 full- and part-time jobs in the town, which has a population of 2,500. "The majority of the people were interested in helping their community," said Page. "And they were excited by the project." Goodale's enthusiasm was evident when he launched into a detailed explanation about why the project's second phase, a research laboratory, must go ahead. Goodale's conclusion: "This could be a big thing for a small town."

For the longer term, it is working on the developing hairy varieties of non-native plant species. MicroGen president Paul Fowler cites work done by an associate, Hugh Shaver, who has developed a Douglas fir, a tall evergreen native to the temperate rain forest of British Columbia's coast region, hardy enough to survive in Manitoba's cold, dry climate.



■ **Fowler:** traditional lenders are reluctant when main assets are ideas

MicroGen is a company on the fringe of the agriculture biotechnology revolution. Using tissue-culture technology, MicroGen will take a few cells from the growing tips of high-yield plants and, in special sterile growing medium, rapidly reproduce those cells into thousands of tiny, new plants.

For the longer term, it is working on the developing hairy varieties of non-native plant species. MicroGen president Paul Fowler cites work done by an associate, Hugh Shaver, who has developed a Douglas fir, a tall evergreen native to the temperate rain forest of British Columbia's coast region, hardy enough to survive in Manitoba's cold, dry climate.

BETTER IN BIGGAR

From the outside, the MicroGen greenhouse at the edge of town in Blaguer, Sask., looks ordinary. But MicroGen International Research Inc. is an unusual company. Unlike most commercial greenhouses, it uses a biotechnology tissue culture technique that can turn a few cells of a rosebush or basil seedling into a million transplanted clone plants within a few months. The idea for the company started five years ago when a research scientist from Saskatoon and 13 of Saskatchewan's biggest retail nurseries began discussing how they could replace imported garden plants—bought from growers as far away as Holland—with homegrown varieties better suited to the harsh prairie climate. But the most unusual thing about MicroGen is its financing: about 25 per cent of its investment capital comes from 62 townspeople, who have raised a total of \$350,000 in the greenhouse project. "The way I look at it, \$5,000 each goes to make or buy a house," said MicroGen's chairman, mayor of Blaguer's second house. "If the banks and credit unions won't supply the money, then we will."

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confirmed as requiring commitment to the industry when he declared: "Biotechnology is a critical component of Canadian growth and economic development." The Saskatchewan government has been even more supportive. In the mid-1980s, it identified agricultural biotechnology as one of a handful of industries that held the most promise, and provided funding for companies in the crucial start-up years.

Earlier this year, both levels of government continued their support for biotechnology by providing joint financing for the construction of a \$20-million bio-farmaceutical facility in

Saskatoon. Many local companies require the mass production of space-occupying as a process comparable to culturing yeast to make bread. The proposed bio-farmaceutical facility will help small and medium-sized companies to produce these micro-organisms in marketable quantities.

That kind of government involvement is greatly helping to pay off. As with most high-technology companies, experts say that it takes about 10 years to turn an idea into a commercial product. And in the last year or two, the first products have begun to trickle onto the market from some of

Saskatoon's biotech companies. Royal Hudson, an agricultural biotechnology specialist with the Saskatchewan Economic Development department, says that the industry currently employs about 700 people—many of them highly trained—in the province. Densit, the industry in Saskatchewan posted sales of \$200 million last year. And, he notes, the profitable government projects that employment in biotechnology will double and sales will triple by the end of the century.

Still uncertain, though, is how consumers will respond to products that have been genetically engineered. Rod MacRae, co-ordinator of the Toronto Food Policy Council, a subcommittee of the city's board of health, argues that the conventional notion behind most ag-biotech products is not to improve on the flavor or nutritional value of nature's less desirable. Instead, MacRae argues, the goal is to increase farm production and, ultimately, to make profits for the manufacturers of the biotech products that are sold to farmers. MacRae says the industry is paying little attention to the broader effects of the technologies as such and the environment. "Bigger growth but more in less a lot of biotech means a solution looking for a problem," and MacRae. "There's no shortage of milk in this country. In fact, we have more milk than we can use. Why do we have to give hormones to cows to get more milk?"

Not at MacRae concerned that increasing food production will feed the hungry of the world. "The problem is that many people in poor countries can't afford to buy the food that they need," and MacRae. "Just increasing production isn't going to solve that." At the very least, consumer advocates like MacRae say that biotech products should be labelled. But the industry argues against that stance, claiming that it's biotechnology product cannot be distinguished from a conventional product, at least using current state-of-the-art analytical technology. It should not have to be labelled differently.

For now, however, MacRae says that consumers have a healthy suspicion of biotech products even though they do not fully understand the science behind them. "The more sophisticated a science is, the more fearful people become," and MacRae. "And that's justified, because the more complicated a science is, the more difficult it becomes to accurately predict its outcomes." Still, many in the biotechnology industry acknowledge the risks inherent in their business, but insist confident that they can manage them. "It's like anything in life, there are always risks and benefits," and Aubrey O'Sullivan, director of Agriculture Canada's research centre in Saskatoon. "I think biotechnology is the key to the future. We're just on the verge of understanding its potential. In terms of what our crops will do in the future, the sky's the limit." Clearly, science is on the verge of revolutionizing farming one more time. □

Job sharing

It seems that the layoffs are out for Frank McKenna. Well, no wonder. The complaints of his peers against the premier of New Brunswick clearly indicate that, however effective he may be,



THE BOTTOM LINE
BY DEBBIE MCMURDY

McKenna is not a gentleman. For one thing, a gentleman does not preach—whether it in phrases or jobs. Certainly a gentleman would not conduct an on-again campaign to lure Canadian companies away from his neighbors and into his own estate. It is infinitely more sporting for a chap to lounge by the fire in a wing chair and to wait for business opportunities to introduce themselves to him.

The crackly cross-Canada matroning about McKenna's entrepreneurial ardor—in openly avowed the subject, CEO of New Brunswick-reached a crescendo in January, just after he convinced United Parcel Services Ltd. to move about 900 jobs from Vancouver into the province to him.

That latest coup finally gave British Columbia the chance to join several other provinces in a prolonged post over the spoils of his previous handling of the province. In 1990, McKenna convinced Parsiplex Ltd. to locate in Moncton rather than Winnipeg and last year, he persuaded the Royal Bank of Canada to locate a call centre and 500 jobs in Moncton rather than Halifax.

Probably inspired by such biotechnology, Frank Wells has recently taken great pains to establish that he is not, in fact, any sort of superficial similarities. Frank McKenna. Sure, the premier of New Brunswick must make up nervous Canada and trapping around New York City to generate corporate interest in his province. Yes, he is offering a 30-year tax holiday for those companies who invest \$300,000 and generate sales of \$500,000. And the province's newly minted economy is "development" law does generously offer businesses free Crown land and \$2,500 for each permanent full-time job created.

But absolutely none of that is to be confused with the grants and loans that New Brunswick is accused of ardently dispatching as job training and relocation allowances. In fact, Wells actively brooks with information at such a suggestion. "We're not buying jobs from provinces

that contribute to expansion payments. We won't nickel and dime another province to lure you to Newfoundland," he stiffly insists. He adds, "Job poaching creates ill will. It creates a bid-

ding war that no one can win." With all respect, Premier Wells, that's coldblooded. There is always a winner and a loser in these situations. And it is better that the winner be your province at home rather than a foreign country. American states have always aggressively recruited business from Canada, Mexico and each other. And the only rule of engagement is that the most competitive jurisdiction wins.

After all, if you don't kill you don't die. In the high-tech information age, companies and administrators and serve their commercial customer base equally well from Tucson or Saint John. By playing on that and creating an attractive environment for business, complete with a highly educated, bilingual workforce and a state-of-the-art digital communications network, McKenna is doing an expert job of keeping jobs in Canada, rather than let them drift into South.

Maybe Wells is his denunciation of "job poaching" reflects a society that has become a little too reliant on the largesse of the hydrocarbon parent in Ottawa. Since he's a conservative—even with in a family—does not have to expend "all well" in the least. In fact his excellent practice for the Real World. Of course, there is a catch of sorts—descent expansion payments and the attached political strings. It is not entirely predictable that such relations like British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario will get badly when poor cousins, who depend indirectly on their charitable contributions, turn those hands against them.

But all the pious platitudes about sustainable economic development, which are always wheeled out when Third World countries are discussed, apply demonstrably as well. For the cycle of dependence and support to be shattered, it is important for the weaker provinces, over the long-term, to find their own feet. Even business, to find their own feet in the short-term. And engaging in some oddball behavior now and then.

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ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

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Business NOTES



MEMBERSHIP HAS ITS PRIVILEGES: Del. Coast Banc Trust of the Metropolitan Toronto Co-Operative Federal Union. Immediate Thrift displays some 7,500 forged credit cards seized in the Toronto suburb of Richmond Hill. They are perfect replicas of existing credit cards issued by international financial institutions including the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Montreal and the Chase Manhattan Bank. Some 800 of the cards were already prepared for use.

Paper profits

Newspaper magazine Canada Black plans to reorganize its forces in the United States, acquiring key British, Canadian and Australian holdings under Hollinger Inc.'s principal U.S. subsidiary. In a preliminary plan, Hollinger's American Publishing Co.—the U.S. newspaper chain that includes the Chicago Sun-Times—would share in buy all outstanding ordinary shares in The Telegraph P.C. of London.

Hollinger currently holds 56.5 per cent of The Telegraph, which in turn holds a controlling 75-per-cent stake in Australia's John Fairfax Holdings newspaper chain and a minority 39 per cent of Southern Life of Toronto.

Hollinger's financial results for 1994 showed lower profits at The Telegraph, whose Derby Telegraph is located in a price war with the rival Times of London. Overall, it had a \$116-million profit for the year ended

Dec. 31, compared with \$25 million in 1993. Credit rating Standard and Poor's Corp. of New York City placed \$944 million of Hollinger Inc. debt on credit watch "with negative implications" last week, citing the company's individuals could grow as a result of a proposed reorganization.

Changing guard

Peter Brindman, co-founder of one of Canada's largest industrial conglomerates, the West-Edgar Group of companies, will surrender absolute legal control of the group under a new succession plan. Brindman, 65, will share control with group managers.

The West-Edgar group owns operating companies such as Noranda Inc., London Life Insurance Co. and Royal LePage Ltd. It currently employs 60,000 people in its roster of companies—two-thirds of them in Canada.

Peter Brindman founded the company 40 years ago with his brother Edward.

A PROFITABLE EXPERIENCE

Canadian corporate profits soared by 48 per cent in 1994 to \$20.5 billion. The large U.S. gains, according to Statistics Canada, were guided by the metals, forest products and automotive sectors. Annual operating profits were the highest in the years and the year ended strongly, with a 10-per-cent jump in fourth-quarter operating profits. Corporations posted a profit of \$23.5 billion, up from \$20.5 billion in the third quarter.

CPP GOING BROKE

The Canada Pension Plan is in danger of running out of money within 20 years, according to a report tabled in the House of Commons. With income from the tax and social security levies, even doubling employer and employee contributions would not keep the plan solvent, the office of the superintendent of financial institutions reported.

UNTEL CUTS THE LINE

Money-hungry long-distance telephone company Unitel Communications Inc. of Toronto announced that it is eliminating 650 jobs as it bids to reduce costs. Unitel had a staff of about 2,700 and a line now reduced to 1,650. The latest cuts come as Tel Fingers, who now own 29.6 per cent of Unitel, is deciding whether Rogers Communications Inc. will buy Canadian Pacific Ltd.'s 40-per-cent stake in Unitel. It has a deadline of April 25.

DOW BREAKTHROUGH

The Dow Jones industrial average of the New York Stock Exchange broke through 4,000 last week for the first time. It took almost four years for the Dow to advance the 1,000 points from 3,000, reached first on April 17, 1961. It first passed 2,000 in 1957, and 1,000 in 1922.

STARRING ROLE FOR ONEX

Donald Schwartz, chief executive of Onex Corp. of Toronto, and Hollinger Inc. of Mississauga are negotiating with entrepreneur industry professionals to create a new Los Angeles film studio. Schwartz has said that Onex, a leveraged buyout specialist, would spend up to \$50 million cash for a stake in the studio. During the past two decades, Hollinger's Hollywood unit, Arden, Onex Pictures and TriStar Pictures.

LIGHT GAIN FROM HEAVY OIL

The \$1-billion Lloydminster heavy-oil project turned a \$1.2-million profit in January—the first in its history. The Saskatchewan government took over as co-owner of the project, with the Alberta and British Columbia governments. The plant lost \$28 million in 1994.

THE NATION'S BUSINESS

The First Nations' next target: MBAs

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Lord Bertrand Russell, the eminent British philosopher, mathematician, and Nobel prize winner, once wrote of "unintended effects." What he meant was that, while many politicians say they have influence, unless they can actually change the course of events they are not exerting real power.

Under that definition, one of the most powerful groups in Canada these days is the aboriginals. It was leaders of the First Nations who finally stopped Quebec's \$6-billion Great Whale hydro project dead in its tracks last year, opposing the project that culminated in Elgin's attempt to sue the March 1990 accord in 1990, and by refusing to include their land as part of a new agreement. Quebec, currently said in one of the largest obstacles between Jacques Parizeau and his dreams of empire.

That list doesn't include their power position of the near future, when native land claims could be the final frontier for several billion dollars per year of income. Canadian assets will have to be negotiated. First Nations leaders are determined that it will be their own people who decide how, whether actual assets are eventually realized, are spent, managed and reserved.

An integral part of the preparations for that massive transfer of lands and land is the brand new MBA program for aboriginals, to be jointly launched this fall at the Saskatchewan Indian Federation College (SIFC) in Regina and the College of Commerce in Saskatoon, the first of its kind in Canada. (Founded in 1970 by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, SIFC now teaches subjects such as Indian art, Indian languages and Indian Social Work to a student body of about 1,200.) The measure between the two institutions, both affiliated with local universities, is expected to attract students from across the north and south of America. The inaugural class in the two-year degree program will be limited to 250 stu-

Indian leaders are determined to have their own people invest the billions of dollars they demand in land claim settlements

dents, but there are plans to expand enrollment in the future.

The graduates will still be a desperate need for aboriginal administrators. (In a previous report, the Saskatchewan College of Commerce outlined a certificate program in administration to the North Battleford Tribal Council, but it was cancelled in 1985 when federal funding ran out.) The first university institution to help underwrite the new program is the Bank of Montreal, which recently donated \$50,000 and pledged to provide internships, mentoring and help in the placement of the first graduates.

Due to take charge of the program is Paul Davidson, who has taught an undergraduate course in business and public administration at the Indian Federation College for more than 15 years. "We've had inquiries about this program from right across the country," says Davidson, a native. "There's no question that there exists a real natural need for First Nations MBAs, many of whom will achieve some of our underemployment in administration wishing to upgrade themselves."

Davidson, one of the SIFC faculty who will teach the future MBAs, points out that the curriculum will emphasize the colloquial-

ty of the Indians' version of business. "First Nations people do business differently," says Davidson. "Their organization charts are flatter, when they're structured in circles, which demonstrates the economic nature of how business is managed in these countries. Consultation and giving everyone a chance to express an opinion is key, in contrast to the top-down hierarchies in most mainstream corporations and in government. Now the First Nations won't have to hire only non-aboriginal consultants. With their MBA degrees, there will be people available who are capable of assisting their communities themselves."

The move is very much a part of the nation's self-government. To ensure that the new MBAs are aware of the issues they will be expected to manage and protect, several of their courses will be designed to build—on awareness—their own culture, especially in legal, political and ethical aspects. As with the standard MBA courses, students will study subjects such as international indigenous management, policy formation and analysis of aboriginal systems, the economics of the Indian, Métis and Inuit peoples, and so on.

B. (David) Lenz, who is second vice-president of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations and chairman of SIFC, points out that close to one-third of the province's 60,000 aboriginals of working age are now unemployed. His organization hopes to cut that figure in half over the next 10 years. "We've got to take a more business-like approach to our own affairs and build up our infrastructure," he told me. "We're starting to develop our economic potential, especially in terms of tourism, establishing managed natural lands and, right here in Saskatchewan, a First Nations bank." Lenz says that negotiators are under way with one of the Big Five banks to help launch that financial institution as a joint venture.

"What will be unique about the MBA program," he adds, "is that it will combine First Nations philosophy and tradition with contemporary methods and technology. We believe more than ever in aboriginal self-determination in being individualistic, considerably different from standard capitalism. (University, we are starting our way into the boardrooms of Saskatchewan, mostly to be in Crown corporations, but in some private sector ventures.) We're starting our own resource development." Lenz points out that land claims in Saskatchewan alone call for payments of about \$300 million.

It's a sign of the aboriginal community's growing attitude that they have now placed within a the top of their priority list. Until recently, the aboriginal community has been tied past the undergraduate level studies, presumably to provide native input into land claim disputes. But at least some of the proposed settlements may make violence, as the First Nations' white man's demands clash with the reality of the white man's status quo. Davidson, one of the SIFC faculty who should also include. Defending the



The Middle Class



BLOWN AWAY

Middle-income Canadians are lashing out in anger and fear—against a rapidly increasing tax burden

BY MARY JAMMAN

Lynn LeRoy McChang can tell you exactly when the lightning bolt struck him on his aching back. He was lying through a magazine, relaxing, when he spotted Toronto Liberal MP Dennis Mills's key prediction that Canadians will complain for a few minutes and then they'll roll over." If Dennis' naive tactic, McChang was stunned. He works full time, for \$30,000 per year, as the accountant for a provincial aviation district office in Magnolia, Alta., a tiny community about 30 km north of Lethbridge. To make ends meet, he passes his evenings at the office at another smaller aviation office, doing his books for \$6,000 to \$10,000 per year. So, in this careful accountant's book, McChang pined through the last 12 years of his working life on spreadsheets, calculating his earnings and his taxes. He concluded that his income had risen over that period—but that his taxes had shot up "disproportionately." He has three children, aged 18 to 37, and an aging wife. He has a mortgage. He drives an old car. He has to save for an entire year for two weeks' vacation. And something snapped. For the first time in his life, he wrote a letter to a politician.

McChang's message to Finance Minister Paul Martin echoes the 300,000 letters that were handed unconsciously to his mail bags at the minister's office last week on the brink of his budget. The letters are tinged with an anger that is rarely heard in Canadian politics. And that heart-felt anger means that politicians ignore such outcries, and such votes, to their peril. "I am mad as hell and I am not going to take it any more," McChang wrote in a two-page note sprinkled with misspelled typos in capital letters. "Don't make taxes. Cut your spending. Your suggestion of raising taxes is resulting. It will cut by the

time. This is a revolt against higher taxes. Tighten your belt as I have tightened mine." McChang told *Middle-class* last week that he has worked for 36 of his 37 years—and he feels that he has led a short life. "I look at my father," he says. "He was a partner in a construction firm from 1958 to 1975 and he retired with \$600,000 and, along the way, he had a new car every two to three years. And I say those were the heydays of Canada because I don't see myself...." His nose twitches off and then he adds: "It is just a real struggle."

Canadians may not yet be dumping their tax forms into the Ottawa River—but there is no doubt that there is growing resistance to tax increases across the nation. A decade ago, they grumbled at every upward catch in the rates. But there was never any doubt that they would pay. Today, however, the majority are not as angry as McChang, most politicians concede that their constituents simply would not tolerate another across-the-board hike in personal income or sales taxes. The reason is simple arithmetic. Average family income is declining. In 1980 it was \$27,381 (in 1993 dollars). In 1993, it was \$33,659. Meanwhile, taxes have increased: from 1989 to 1993, the tax for personal income taxes and unemployment insurance premiums rose 3.6 per cent. As a result, take-home pay fell 5.2 per cent. "People have this feeling that they have been taxed more but they are not getting more for it," says Dennis Duggan, vice-president of Employers Research Group Ltd. "At the same time, you really haven't seen any progress on the deficit. So you get a pretty high level of frustration with taxes and tax regime."

In international terms, the Canadian situation is complicated. In 1992, Canada's overall tax burden totaled 14th out of the 24 members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), well below such countries as Sweden, Denmark, Luxembourg and France. The problem, however, is that Canada's tax

burden has risen extremely quickly: to 36.5 per cent of the gross domestic product in 1993 from 31.6 per cent in 1980. Worse, the tax burden in the United States has increased about the same: it was 32.3 per cent in 1989 to 38.0 and 39.4 per cent in 1993. Dave Perry, senior research associate at the Canadian Tax Foundation, recently pinpointed the problem for the House of Commons finance committee: "We had apparently agreed earlier to European levels of public services and 13.5 levels of taxation. By 1993, the trend was to European levels of taxation and 15.5 levels of public services."

Such changes are squeezing the very fabric of Canadian society, exacerbating resentments among economic groups. Pollster Deslauriers reports that higher-income Canadians want government to cut programs—and to avoid tax increases. Lower-income Canadians want governments to preserve programs, especially the social safety net, through taxes on the rich. And the majority of Canadians, the hard-pressed middle class, want governments to cut spending, to tax the rich and to leave them alone. In poll after poll, they have maintained their devotion to the social safety net, especially health care, education and the overall benefit levels of unemployment insurance. But they want governments to end what they perceive as the built-in machine to siphon to unemployment insurance and welfare. And they want Ottawa to clean up its own act before it picks their pocket's again. As Toronto Liberal MP Jan Peacock, the chairwoman of the House of Commons finance committee, recently told *Middle-class* on her hearings, everywhere, everyone, to a person, and that we had to deal with the deficit. But there was no consensus how everybody was a winner [Not in My Back Yard].

Such divisions could become dangerous. No one can predict exactly what would happen if middle-income Canadians, who bear the brunt of the tax burden, lose their faith and their patience with the

system of transfers to poorer provinces and poorer individuals. But Lynne Toppin, the executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Organization, worries that it is the most vulnerable in society who will pay the price. She says that many Canadians have demanded spending cuts—when governments could raise taxes on corporations and on Canadians who earn more than \$75,000 per year. More important, she wonders if Canadians have forgotten about the social services that they get for their tax dollars in their rage against the system. "My concern is that, in the end, those who can afford it will pay and those who cannot will be left with the crumbs of programs," she says. "It would be a real dismantling of a series of values that Canadians have held on to for many years." Then she adds, "I think somewhere along the line the middle-class has lost faith in our government's ability to effectively manage these programs."

That, of course, is the crux of the problem. Although the current Liberal government has retained much of its own credibility with the public, few Canadians believe that governments are running their own affairs efficiently. Every week, they hear disturbing stories such as Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin's recent \$40,000 upgrade to his office furniture. So they are understandably skeptical when governments claim that they have cut in the house—and must raise more tax money.

Instead, there is an attractive collective belief that governments are wasting money—and that they do not spend the taxpayers' dollars wisely. Says Liberal MP Peterson, "If you believed that the government was doing the right thing, then you would not be here with tax increases and so on. This is the price that we pay for what we as a community have decided to do." But you don't have a sense of confidence in government any more." Adds veteran Toronto Liberal David Macdonald, a candidate in the upcoming provincial election,

tax. "What people are saying to governments is, 'I have figured out how to make do with less. When the hell are you going to do it?' When you have and you have done it for a while, then you come back and talk to me about taxes."

And that is why the tax protest went here. In Canada, that mounting frustration found a focus last September when Financial Post editor Bruce Francis described the U.S. experiment with tax and expenditure limitations, the so-called TELA. Such laws essentially curb politicians' ability to spend or tax. But that, they argue, that lesson or spending measures must receive approval in a referendum or the consent of voters' committees, such as 75 per cent of the legislature. Within days, he received 2,300 responses—a clear signal that Canadians did not trust their elected leaders. "It was unbelievable," also says "I could have filled the letters to the editor pages for five years." With the help of the public relations firm Edelman Houston Group, which drafted its services, Francis contacted other editorialists such as David Sorenville, the president of the National Citizens' Coalition, and John Kennedy, the executive director of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, who has become the leading spokesman of the movement.

The coalition's first task was to prove that it had public approval. In a December poll by Ottawa-based COM Polling, it determined that 77 per cent of the 2,388 respondents believed that it was "extremely" or "very" important for Canada to control its taxes. (Residents of British Columbia and Ontario were the most concerned.) Eighty-nine per cent of the respondents said that it was "extremely" or "very" important to control spending. And 85 per cent shared those sentiments about the debt. The coalition organized 15 "tax alert" rallies in British Columbia, across the Prairies and Ontario during the first two weeks of February. And it elicited 250,000 letters of protest, which it, in turn,



McChung: while his income has risen slightly over the years, the tax burden has shot upwards

Your suggestion of raising taxes is revving. It will not fly this time.

delivered to Parliament Hill. "The public is saying that it has ever been in this country," says Francis. "And they're right. Money will undermine itself in Ottawa."

But if Kennedy, Francis and their coalition partners have provided taxpayers with an outlet for their anger, they did not spark the resistance. Although taxpayers barely raised a fist to the tax, their taxes began to creep upward during the mid-1990s. Between 1984 and 1993,

unofficially, in the depths of the recession, consumers were faced with a highly visible across-the-board tax on most goods and services. Whenever they saw a lawyer or went to a barber, whenever they purchased a mattress or bought popcorn at a movie, there was the revivable GST.

And it kicked. Encouraged by the then-strong Canadian dollar, consumers began to stream over the border into the United States where almost every purchase—essentials, liquor, gasoline, groceries, appliances and clothes—was cheaper, often because the taxes were less. Consumers also started to demand under-the-table deals from local tradespeople. The underground economy crash-boomed. "The GST started the growing awareness of the increase in the tax burden," observes the Canadian Tax Foundation's Perry. "The poor taxpayers realized that, by the time the GST came around, they were paying more and getting less."

Such realizations do not usually bring out the best in anyone. Across the nation, tens of thousands of middle-class households are simply trying to get by, paying more taxes with less income, with such difficult times, further tax increases could strain the nation's hidden tolerance, demanding knowledge that leads Canadians in all regions and economic classes.

Already, many Canadians are demanding that someone else, anyone else, should pick up the increased tax. Usually, they select wealthy Canadians or corporations. The problem is that most rich Canadians are already paying their taxes—if only because most wealthy households have been eliminated. Worse, even if the earnings of those rich Canadians were simply confiscated, there would not be enough money to make a dent in the \$200-billion debt. In such circumstances, of course, even those truly rich Canadians would surely move their wealth out of the country. Ditto, who then perhaps \$50,000 or \$40,000 per year and who do not consider themselves wealthy, would shoulder the bulk of the increase. Warren Buffett, president of the Canadian Board of Raising Services in Montreal, "I'd put new sound individuals at the top pay anywhere between 50 and 54 per cent of their income and that is deemed to be as high as you want to go on

a progressive scale. You can't do that when your income is above the \$84,000 range and that is not a large range salary."

The case for massive corporate income tax increases is equally tricky. Corporate taxes represented only 1.6 per cent of GDP in Canada in 1993, compared with 2.1 per cent in the United States and 3.5 per cent among the OECD as a whole. But that calculation does not include retail sales taxes, payroll taxes such as unemployment insurance and workers' compensation premiums and property taxes (which are the highest among the OECD nations). As the Canadian Finance Minister noted: "Provincial corporate taxes on top of the federal levy together with other kinds of taxes such as towards the competitive level. Most important, Canadian tax rates are higher (34-35.5 rates), an important benchmark for companies considering North American investments."

The result is that governments have little alternative but to tap the middle class if they need a major increase in revenue. And that would be costing anger. Already, citizens are losing their faith in government, their belief that governments will help them when they are sick or old or simply worried. More demands from government can actually destroy their willingness to give any more to anyone else. As far as their deputy minister Arthur Knepper said, "People don't 'do as we were all getting better off, year over year, people were disposed to be more generous. But if your income is flat, if you really don't feel any better all that you did 20 years ago, if you feel uncertain about your job, which people increasingly do, then there is more of a survival instinct that is going to cause the fire. When people don't feel very well off and they feel that very much, they are more inclined to protect their own interests and to be more defensive of others' needs."



Caroline Tax Foundation's Perry: the GST prompted a new awareness about the tax burden

So far, the social network is building. As pollster Dasso reports, Canadians still want to give to each other, but, as the taxpayers' revolt indicates, they do not want to give much more to governments because they believe that governments simply waste it. You can hear the anger in Linda Berberich's voice when she talks about the day that she learned about the use of her provincial representative's pension. "I thought, 'That's it. That's enough to make me want to do something about it,'" recalls the partner in a Calgary trading firm. She joined the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, then, she went to a meeting. "You see what is happening in the economy, how, in private business, everybody is taking more and more cuts and paying more taxes, and government spending just keeps growing and growing," she says. "And you eventually say, 'This is just crap.'"

TAXES HIT HOME

CREDITS (+) AND DEBITS	\$40,000			\$60,000			\$150,000		
	1985	1990	1995	1985	1990	1995	1985	1990	1995
FAMILY ALLOWANCES (+)	750	800	0	750	0	0	750	0	0
CHILD TAX CREDIT (+)	0	0	1,948	0	0	949	0	0	0
INCOME TAX	6,644	6,434	6,846	13,240	13,860	12,635	32,025	40,345	32,362
CANADA PENSION PLAN	637	756	896	760	1,049	1,487	700	1,144	1,702
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE	598	706	1,200	1,124	1,289	1,086	1,126	1,158	2,542
AFTER TAX INCOME	32,541	32,718	32,813	46,526	44,511	44,463	85,637	107,066	124,741
GST (NET)	634	1,217	1,344	1,584	2,685	2,295	4,580	9,031	6,378
PROVINCIAL RETAIL SALES TAX	761	963	1,152	1,186	1,838	1,693	3,362	4,709	5,762
SPECIAL TAXES ON: TORONTO	304	343	350	226	363	366	226	343	368
ALCOHOL	129	144	175	129	144	155	129	144	155
GASOLINE	135	229	258	135	229	258	135	229	258
PROPERTY TAXES	1,408	1,600	2,000	1,599	1,900	2,294	1,965	2,509	2,676
DRIVER AND CAR LICENCES	51	65	85	51	65	85	51	65	85
TOTAL TAXES	11,767	12,554	14,291	19,970	21,739	23,356	65,282	55,846	79,520
PERCENTAGE OF INCOME	29.4	31.4	35.7	33.3	36.2	38.9	43.5	37.9	40.6

THE TAX FIGHTER

BY E. KAYE FULTON

He is short and wiry, with a buttoned-down collar and an earnest habit of engaging the grip of his belt during moments of rhetorical flight. This is surely a moment for Justin Kennedy, the executive director of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation. At a pro-budget rally in Pickering, Ont., just east of Toronto, the stocky Alberta-based lobbyist delivers his signature protest slogan of "No more taxes" with polished ease. Beside the podium, a digital "debt clock" ticks off the mounting national debt. At the start of his speech, Kennedy owed just over \$540 billion, at its end, 15 minutes later, instant charges had inflated the total by another 50 million. Confronted with the relentless clock, Kennedy's demand for severe cuts in government spending rather than increased taxes has a powerful effect on an attentive crowd of 2,000. "You are part of that Canadian tradition of politeness and deference," he declares. "But Canadians are beginning to lose their manners, and for good reason."

That repeated Canadian complacency is being challenged—and provoked! Riding a wave of fiscal conservatism that shaped the economic policies of the group, the taxpayers federation, led by Kennedy, has pushed itself onto the national stage in an effort to influence that week's leader of budgets—and the debate that will follow it. To its harshest critics, the anti-tax lobby is a wealthy force intent on protecting the interests of the wealthy at the expense of social progress. In its supporters, the movement has already accomplished at least one goal: it has clearly focused attention on how the sheer size of the debt, and the \$46-billion annual interest payments required to service it, is eating more deeply year after year into the money Ottawa has to spend. With little doubt, the group has struck a chord with many taxpayers. "Most Canadians are frustrated," said pollster Donna Duks, vice-president of Emergence Canada in Toronto. "But for those people going out to rallies, there's a 'can't take any more' feeling."

The successful tapping of anger and bewilderment among voters springs in large measure from that unusual 26-year-old lobbyist who leads the campaign. Articulate and politically savvy beyond his years, Kennedy has approached many-type states among many of his arch-conservative peers. He made his name in Ontario in 1993 when, as leader of the Association of Alberta Taxpayers, he led a successful drive that ended in Tory Premier Ralph Klein's decision to eliminate the province's plan for provincial politicians. Kennedy has taken even higher sights since he was appointed head of the national taxpayers' umbrella group in July 1994. In the subsidy-dependent Atlantic provinces, he boldly called for an end to seasonal industry support and regional development schemes. In Ontario and Saskatchewan, he entailed the virtues of legislation to limit the authority of politicians to tax, borrow and spend. In some respects, embodying his own, he is redefining the Reform party. Said Kennedy: "We're actually been able to have more constructive influence than most people in office can ever hope to have."

Those words carry a certain irony. Before he joined the anti-tax cause in Alberta in 1991, Kennedy was a devoted Liberal activist, a respected member of the national party's youth wing with every prospect of a successful career in politics. Drawn by surprise to the party's right wing, he was plunged in the 1970s Liberal vision of a strong central government, and personally used by what he calls "the

starting channels" of Pierre Trudeau. None of those allegiances exist now. The majority of programs that he wants out or entirely eliminated—including subsidies to business, foreign aid, official bilingualism and government-funded multiculturalism—are consequences of traditional Liberal policy. In fact, Kennedy denies the very conservatives that once directed his ambitions. "What scares me about people my age who are involved in politics is that, by and large, they are terribly superficial and shallow," he told *Maclean's* last week. "Their political allegiances are no more rational than one's allegiance to a hockey team."

Disenchanted with conventional politics is nothing new. Canadian populist movements are the historical catalysts for some of the



Anti-tax only in Calgary: the successful tapping of anger and bewilderment sparks in large measure from the 26-year-old lobbyist who leads the campaign

'We're being forced by cold, hard realities to reassess the proper function of government'



Kennedy at Pickering rally, riding a wave of fiscal conservatism

country's most radical, and arguably most innovative, political reformers. Like the federation's predecessors, the western grassroots movement that spawned the Reform party and a lipson of protest groups in the late 1980s was fueled by discontent. In particular, the frustration of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation in Regina in 1990

was an alliance of storm over runaway deficits, government spending and the arrival of the Goods and Services Tax. The group in Saskatchewan and Alberta started the federation, but soon chapters were added in British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario and, most recently, New Brunswick. The federation claims a membership of 53,000, a staff of 500 and an annual budget of \$3.4 million. It also generates much controversy. "I mean gets 1,000 people to a rally in Edmonton and the media calls it a tax revolt," said Alberta Federation of Labor president Linda Karpowich. "We get 10,000 people outside the legislature rallying against Alberta government cuts, but that's not called a revolt."

I was not always so. Until Kennedy came along, the tax protest lacked the focus of the profile he made a truly national campaign against any increase in taxes. In April 1993, an angry Klein accused Kennedy of spreading false information about government spending while "making" senior citizens by charging 355 annual fees in aggressive membership drives. It was a reasonable exchange—all the more so since it occurred in a public hallway in the legislature—during which Kennedy coolly rebuffed the charges and threatened to sue the premier for slander. His sangfroid impressed critics and cemented his reputation as a calm hero among disaffected nonconformists. At the University of Alberta last September, a respectable showing of 30 students turned out for a 7

arm meeting of a campus libertarian club to hear Kennedy talk about free markets. "He's not a Generation X do-nothing guy. He's not there changing the country," said club president Erik Lewis. "It's inspiring. [Kennedy] has given young libertarians and young conservatives a role model."

Such accolades make Kennedy visibly where—if only because he inspires public criticism to any party, cause or group other than his own. In fact, he contends that universal distrust of politics and big business has reduced the left and right to near-silence from another generation. "We're being forced by cold, hard mathematical realities to reassess the proper function of government," he says. "It is a question that every responsible person has to think about and answer." That, he says, is best accomplished from outside the political system. The group, however, openly associates itself with the *Forbes* 200 newspaper chain, which proudly sponsored several of the 38 anti-tax rallies held across the country since Feb. 1, as well as an anti-tax petition that attracted 290,000 signatures. It is another matter with politics. Federation rules forbid executives and staff members from having ties or making contributions to any political party, a policy that Kennedy says allows the group to freely criticize without promoting ulterior motives.

The movement is endorsed—but not necessarily followed—by every member of the federation's executive. Alberta lawyer Andrew Crooks,

a director of the Reform Party's Federation, for example, ran successfully for the Reform party nomination in Calgary Centre in 1992. After he joined the group, Crooks gave up his Reform membership, but nonetheless showed up on the party's 1993 list of individual contributors with a donation of \$3,000. Asked about the discrepancy, Crooks told *Maclean's* that personal tax records indeed show a contribution in his name—of \$3,000—as well as contributions from his wife, Sharon, who is still a Reform member. Like Kenney, Crooks said that being affiliated to a particular party would benefit the group's grassroots legitimacy. Conceded Crooks: "If we alien ourselves to be owned by any political party, we cut ourselves off from a broader cross-section of taxpayers."

To question that distance, Kenney at first with both complaints and criticisms of the political process and its players. Despite his past

"As soon as you become an enthusiast of hair shirts, you'd better not be found buying suits"

verbal tussles with Klein, Kenney occasionally meets with the premier or members of his cabinet. He publicly chided the Reform party for its lacklustre debut in Ottawa. Finance Minister Paul Martin called Kenney to hear his 1994 budget after watching him on national television. The two talked for 30 minutes about Kenney's views of alternatives to tax hikes. "I was really impressed by that out of all the blue," said Kenney. "I appreciate that he has reasonable proposals pulling him in 35 different directions."

Kenney's Education office reflects his eclectic interests. On one wall hangs a painting of Sir Winston Churchill, on another a portrait of the 16th-century English statesman Sir Thomas More. Kenney's bookshelf holds weighty tomes that range from the classics to American economist Milton Friedman. A devout Roman Catholic, he is a proven convert to the way of science types: "As soon as you become an enthusiast of hair shirts," he said, "you'd better not be found buying suits." With an annual salary of \$55,000—which includes a \$10,000 raise from 1994—his income is middle class, but his personal tastes are American.

A self-described classical music buff, Kenney bought to buy a television for his downstairs apartment. He owns a used 1987 Ford Taurus, in need of repair. Jason's idea of a vacation, says *Saturday Night* editor Kenneth White, a friend, "is two weeks talking politics on whirlwind visits with his Republican friends in New York City and Washington. He comes home completely relaxed."

Kenney's upbringing was not particularly conventional. Born in Oakville, Ont., in 1946, he was the youngest of three sons of Martin and Lynne Kenney. Jason at 4 was going to St. Paul's in Oakville. He spent his entire educational life—from kindergarten in Oakville to university in San Francisco—in residential dormitories. In 1975 his father, a private school headmaster in Oakville and Windsor, moved his family to Wilcox, South (population 230), to run the legendary Notre Dame College, a Catholic school beset by its hockey program. The family stayed in Wilcox for 16 years. "Friends would come to town for a couple of months at a time to help my father get the school in shape," recalled Kenney. "We'd all arrived the dining room table until 11 in the morning listening to all these Irishmen Catholic priests expostulate about all manner of things." Once, when Kenney was 5, former Tory prime minister John Diefenbaker visited the school. According to family lore, Dief asked the young boy if he liked school. "No," replied Kenney.



Kenney in Ottawa: Expects personal tussles

"Why not?" asked Dief. "Because," said Kenney, "it's too easy." Ironically, Kenney's shift to the political right took place in one of the most liberal cities in North America. On the advice of a family friend, Saskatchewan businessman Fred Hill, Kenney enrolled in a special four-year humanities program at the University of San Francisco in 1967. The course introduced him to the discipline of Jesuit education: "Unlike the now standard undergraduate course, which I call the calculus approach to learning, this program systematically proceeded through the history, literature, philosophy and theology of Western civilization," recalls Kenney. "The small group of 10 students shared more than the classes; they were also the most conservative machine on campus. The only Canadian in the program, Kenney moved into a house with four friends."

Eight blocks from the Haight-Ashbury district, where rich kids roamed in search of the ghosts of the 1960s, the house became a drop-in centre of free-market thought and serious political discourse. "We'd sit on the balcony with a beer, solving the fiscal problems of the world," says

conservative Van Hooper, now an aide to Texas Republican Congressman Bill Archer in Washington. "Jason was the ball collector, the responsible one who made sure things didn't get too heavy." Accustomed to political activities after years in the Liberal party's youth wing, Kenney met with his first major political setback. A member of the university's student government, he tried to reintroduce the practice of prayer before each meeting. "Jason struck out on a lonely road with little support," recalled his friend Eric Ueland, then editor of the campus newspaper and now executive director of the Republican Senate Policy Committee in Washington. "In that crucial effort, he learned that without the backing of blacks, Asians and just plain whites."

Those years also changed the way he thought about his own country. Open to political questions and a range of ideas he had never been exposed to in Canada, Kenney says he finally realized the essential differences between the two countries. "Fundamental political debates are at the core of American politics," he says. "In Canada, we always talked about which responsibilities the federal government should have as opposed to the provinces or how we should run the French-English pact." Kenney's opinions on economic matters were even more hard-line. "When we started to build this elaborate welfare state in the sixties, as one ever projected three decades ahead and asked if they were sustainable," he says, "They are all wonderful programs, but we are doing some difficult consequences. Our ability to pay a changing."

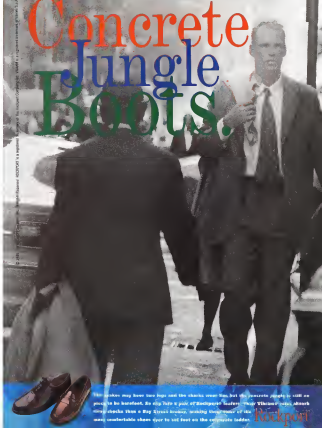
The debates that echo through the Kenney family now well reflect the political discussions in other Canadian households. At 45, Kenney's grandfather, Matt Kenney, the highest leader of Matt Kenney and the Western Greenhouse, is a lifelong liberal with predictably differing views. "Maybe as my age, but I don't look at things in black and white any more," the Kenney patriarch said. "We have to make some choices and make tough decisions. Jason is doing his damn best to stay on top. It should balance off our family."

That is precisely what Kenney is intent on doing. "There are people out there losing small businesses, their life's work, who work harder every year and fall further behind because the tax burden has reached an unsustainable level," said Kenney. "What is being compassionate to people who are working 60 to 80 hours a week, struggling to survive?" To Kenney, that is a provocative question that needs an answer.

With KERRY DOWDY in Edmonton

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Rockport

A mother's tragic tale

BY PAUL KAHILA

When Rosalia Venderchino went to visit her son Marco on Valentine's Day in the critical care ward of Toronto's Sunnybrook Health Science Centre, he asked her what had happened to him. Tears came to the mother's eyes as she looked at her son's bruised and swollen body. Marco, 35, had suffered from schizophrenia all of his adult life. On that day, he spoke to his mother through clenched teeth, his jaw wired because it had been shattered. A cervical cage held his midsection in place to help his broken pelvis heal. An ankle and leg were cemented in a long cast, and a metal gag had been inserted in a broken wind. She wore the new from a big gash down the length of his stomach, which doctors had opted to investigate apertures to his internal organs. The answer to Marco's query was that his body had struck frozen ground

after falling more than 40 feet 71 days earlier. It was a miracle that he had lived at all. But his mother, Rosalia, says that the tragedy could have been avoided, and she wants to tell her story because she feels it will help bring about changes to the system for treating—and containing—psychiatric patients. "Thank God my son didn't die," she says. "But none of this should have happened. We need to change the law."

When she came to Canada from Italy in 1958, Rosalia Venderchino, now 54, dreamed of getting married and having a big family and a large, beautiful house—"all the things I didn't have back home," she says. She did find a husband, but by 1976 the marriage had turned sour, and she ended up raising her two sons on her own, working in the home decorating department of a Sears store to support them. Her youngest son, Marco, was an outgoing boy who scored high in sciences and math and planned to

study physics at the University of Toronto. "Marco's smart," says his mother. "He would've been a great scientist."

But asked, Marco dropped out of school after Grade 11. He had become very withdrawn and mysterious. Once, he asked his mother if he heard Indians talking in their apartment; another time he started a fire with newspapers on the kitchen stove. He grew more irascible—and became violent. He smashed things and flung furniture around. He would say that someone had taken his brain and he was trying to find it. During the most violent fits, Rosalia would call the police and they would take her son to a hospital. At age 39, he was diagnosed with schizophrenia. "I wanted to die that day," Rosalia recalls, her eyes weling with tears. "I thought schizophrenics were people who kill, and who have evil personalities."

But Rosalia learned more about the true nature of the illness. Canada's estimated

270,000 schizophrenics, in fact, are rarely homicidal. They suffer from auditory hallucinations and paranoid delusions, not from a multiple personality disorder.

During his early 30s, Marco spent more than three years in various hospitals, including Toronto's Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, where his treatment included electroconvulsive therapy. He was unresponsive, and his long hospitalization ended when he was locked out of one institution for disruptive behavior. His mother welcomed him home.

Even though Marco was relatively stable during the next four years, life was stressful. It was a constant battle to get Marco to take his medication, which subdued his symptoms. He could not work. And when his mother was out, he often mowed over street people who asked Rosalia repeatedly.

Rosalia joined a support group of people in Toronto's Italian community who have schizophrenic family members. She has needed those friends more than ever during the past year. In 1993, the day after Christmas, it was bitterly cold but Marco wandered outside in his bare feet. His nose continued for about a month to Hunter Memorial Hospital in weekend Toronto. The grateful blisters on his toes had become infected, doctors told Rosalia he might lose them, but he recovered intact. Last year, Marco was committed twice more to the same hospital—the second time for kicking his mother. He had attacked her, he said, because he had thought she was Adolf Hitler—he was obsessed with the Second World War and haunted by delusions involving the Nan leader.

Things got worse in the new year. At 5:30 a.m. on Jan. 26, Marco suddenly burst into his mother's room and began punching her in the head. "He said, 'Where did you bury my mother?'" Rosalia recalls, still appearing two black eyes. "He said, 'You killed her and you want to kill me, too.'"

The police took Marco to a hospital, and the next day he was transferred to Hunter Memorial under a from 1-to-4 release certificate of involuntary commitment. Marco's psychiatrist at Hunter Memorial told Rosalia that it was clear her son could no longer live with her and promised to place him in a facility where he could receive long-term care.

But five days later, a distraught Rosalia received a letter from Toronto's 24-hour crisis center of involuntary commitment. Marco's psychiatrist at Hunter Memorial told Rosalia that it was clear her son could no longer live with her and promised to place him in a facility where he could receive long-term care.

her balcony. Marco had asked hospital staff to allow him to go home, and another psychiatrist insisted him. The doctor judged that Marco was not showing signs of violent or suicidal tendencies. And while he advised Marco against leaving the hospital, he still allowed the disturbed young man to return himself out that afternoon. "When I saw Marco at home, I almost had a fit myself," says Rosalia.

She talked her son into going with her to the emergency ward at Hunter Memorial so he could be medicated. But after two hours of waiting, when the duty doctor finally got to them, Marco declared that his mother had forced him to go there against his will. Rosalia says that she explained to the physician that the dark bruises on her face were the result of an assault by her son that had led to his involuntary commitment to the hospital just five days earlier. She added that Marco's psychiatrist had left her with the impression that her son was to be kept in the hospital until long-term care could be arranged. She also said that Marco's climb to their apartment that very day clearly indicated that he was a danger to himself. She pleaded with the doctor to hospitalize her son, saying that she was afraid of him in his current state.

But according to Rosalia, the doctor said that he could not keep Marco against his will. Her statement, if accurate, is at odds with the province's Mental Health Act, which allows a doctor to commit a patient if, among other things, the individual is causing another person to fear bodily harm from him or her, and if the individual is suffering from a mental

disorder that will likely result in serious bodily harm to the patient or to others. At that point, Marco had a record of violence dating back to 1984. His file at the hospital was 10 years old. Days earlier, he had savagely beaten his mother. But the doctor declined to keep him.

The physician advised Rosalia to go home, change the lock on her apartment and wait for her son at day. She left the emergency room crying and told the doctor, "See when you can do with him." The last thing she heard was the doctor giving her son the address of a shelter for the homeless.

After a sleepless night, Rosalia received a phone call from her son the next morning. She told him that he could come home. When he called, he begged his mother to let him live like a child inside," he said, weeping. She gave him a glass of milk and his medication. He stayed in bed for most of the

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LIFE

rest 36 hours. At around midnight on Feb. 2,
Marro got up and began a conversation with
his mother. Starting at her, he said, "I see the
devil in your eyes." He attacked her again.
When she ran out of the apartment this time,
he locked the door and peeped from the fifth-
floor balcony.

Thunder Mental Hospital executive vice-
president Scott Dudgeon told Maclean's that
he could not discuss details of Marro's case
without the patient's permission because of
provincial laws restricting the release of con-
fidential medical information. But Dudgeon
said that after examining Marro's hospital
file and speaking with the two psychiatrists
involved, he was satisfied that "the patient
was well cared for and things were done as
they ought to have been done."

While Rosalita says it is too early to
tell how much permanent damage Marro
has suffered, the 68 families at her sup-
port group, many of them outmanned, have
insisted a drive to collect 3,000 signatures
on a petition, demanding changes to provin-
cial laws. Their aim is to make it easier for
families to force treatment on loved ones
who are mentally ill and uncooperative.
Rosalita says that relatives should have just
as much say in such matters as physicians.
"Now that this tragedy has happened, doc-
tors ask me to sign consent forms for
Marro's operations," she says. "But when
he's mentally ill, I have to say it."

Other groups across the country have long
campaigning for changes to legislation gov-
erning the commitment of schizophrenics and
the mentally ill. Last week, the Ontario
Friends of Schizophrenics, which has 2,000
member families, launched a campaign to
lobby politicians and party leaders in the
provincial election to be held this year.
Among the changes they are seeking includ-
ing mental screening and the need for care as
grounds for involuntary hospitalization, in
addition to the current rule that a patient
must be dangerous.

But detractors of the existing law say that
one effect of such changes is to grant the
state greater power to remove a person's li-
berty—an unwelcome prospect given the
proactive treatment many psychiatric pa-
tients receive in institutions. "If there were a
magic pill for people with mental illness,
the reason for benefits would be clear and the
side-effects minimal, informed consent wouldn't
be an issue," says David Griffiths, legal counsel
to the Psychiatric Patient Advocate Office,
a quasi-independent provincial agency. "But
there is no magic cure right now, and people
in hospitals are often strapped into beds and
forced to take powerful mood-altering drugs
that cause their bodies to shiver."

While the debate over coercion and care
for psychiatric patients rages, one fact is
painfully clear to Rosalita Vancosch: her
son would not have been in a position to
change from the fifth floor of her apartment
building to the sixth hours of Feb. 5 if he had
been kept in the hospital. □

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Cars are also a cost to the environment. A growing number of Canadian cities have urban air quality alerts because of vehicle exhaust. Smog is the biggest problem. Also known as "ground-level ozone," it forms when nitrogen oxides emitted by motor vehicles combine in

hot sunlight with fumes that evaporate from unburned gasoline, solvents, and smog. Smog harms people's lungs and eyes (children are especially susceptible), and it damages trees and crops. Car exhaust also contributes to acid rain, which damages plants and accelerates the decay of buildings. Carbon dioxide (CO₂) from vehicles is a major contributor to global warming. About 30% of Canada's CO₂ emissions come from vehicles, mostly personal cars and light-duty trucks.

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Consider buying only as much car as you need. Drivers who rarely travel long distances or carry large loads don't really need a large car. When choosing options, know that air conditioning imposes an extra load on the engine, making it work harder and burn more fuel. Certain common options, like power windows and power seats, add weight that also makes the

engine less efficient. On the other hand, cruise control, fuel injection, radial tires, and a black heater (with a timer) help conserve fuel.

Aerodynamics are also important. Sleeker vehicles (especially those with tapered front ends) impose less aerodynamic drag and therefore require less energy to "push" through the air. Bent-necked vehicles, and options such as roof racks and side windows on pickup trucks, create more drag and use more fuel.

Vehicle manufacturers are required to label every new vehicle with a fuel-consumption rating. When shopping for a car, look for this number. If it's not visible, ask the dealer or refer to *The Fuel Consumption Guide*, a free publication from Natural Resources Canada and Transport Canada that contains the ratings of all new cars and light-duty trucks sold in Canada.

Drive AutoSmart

By driving AutoSmart, you will use less fuel to travel the same number of kilometres. The hidden benefit of these fuel-saving techniques is less wear and tear on your car, which means fewer and lower repair bills.

The first thing to remember is that when your car is idling you are wasting fuel – one-tenth of a litre every 10 minutes, 250 grams of CO₂ released into the atmosphere. Turn the car off when parked for extended periods. And don't idle to warm the engine for more than a minute. Idling is no better mechanically for your car than driving slowly. And it's much worse for the environment.

Cold is a definite problem. Engines don't burn fuel efficiently until they reach their normal operating temperature, and catalytic converters aren't efficient at burning exhaust gases until they reach a temperature of several hundred degrees Celsius. This means a substantial amount of pollution is emitted during the first few minutes of any trip. Using a block heater with a timer when temperatures drop below freezing will give your engine a head start toward reaching its prime operating temperature. Always try to plan outings that combine several errands into one trip.

Power trips means fewer cold starts, less fuel, and less pollution.

Other sensible AutoSmart driving tips:

- Avoid pulling away abruptly from a stop. It wastes fuel and doesn't get you to your destination any faster.
- Try not to brake unnecessarily or ride the brakes. You lose momentum.
- Avoid speeding. Vehicles get better mileage at lower speeds.

As you go, 110 km/hr consumes about 20% more fuel than one travelling 90 km/hr.

• Avoid traffic as much as possible by driving during non-peak hours.

• Try to anticipate the flow of traffic around you. You'll do less stopping and starting.

• Avoid carrying extra weight in your car, like bags of salt or heavy power tools. Lighter cars use less fuel.

Finally, consider AutoSmart alternatives to driving your car. Public transit or ride sharing for only

The AutoSmart Checklist

The following is a general maintenance guide for all cars. Refer to your owner's manual for the specific maintenance schedule recommended by the manufacturer.

Bi-weekly

- ☐ Check engine oil, brake fluid, radiator fluid.
- ☐ Inspect tires for wear and check the pressure (monthly).

Every 3 months

- (for every 4,500 to 6,000 km in addition to the bi-weekly inspection)
- ☐ Change oil and filter.

Every 6 months

- (in addition to the 3-month items)
- ☐ Minor tune-up.
- ☐ Check belts and hoses.
- ☐ Check all fluid levels.
- ☐ Replace air filter.
- ☐ Check tires for wear, retread if needed.

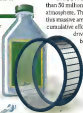
Annually

- ☐ Inspect brakes and exhaust system.
- ☐ Have engine fully (spark plugs, ignition wires, ignition coil, etc.)
- ☐ Replace fuel filter and PCV valve.
- ☐ Lubricate throttle assembly.
- ☐ Pressure-test cooling system.
- ☐ Clean battery terminals.
- ☐ Test primary of anti-freeze (-40° C).
- ☐ Test battery, alternator, charging system.

Every 2 years

- (for 50,000 km)
- ☐ Flush cooling system.
- ☐ Check shocks and struts.
- ☐ Change transmission fluid and filter.
- ☐ Check tire tread depth.

The least expensive parts of your automobile are things like spark plugs, the air filter, oil filter, and consumables such as motor oil and radiator fluid. Yet ensuring they are replaced regularly will save you thousands of dollars in repair bills, especially as the car ages. Preventive maintenance also saves fuel and reduces harmful emissions.





The tread with little is to make them last. You'll save money and fewer tires will enter the waste stream. Proper alignment prevents regular tire wear, so does periodic rotation and tire inflation checks. When buying tires, check that the "treadwear rating" is high. Often, more expensive tires have higher ratings and are a better buy because they will bring out the cheaper models.

A few trips a week will make a difference. Walking and cycling with any regularity is healthier and will reduce your weight (along with your fuel bill). Not only will you be helping the environment, you'll be enjoying it.

Stay AutoSmart

Regular auto maintenance is another winning economic and ecological strategy. The investment you make in keeping your car in top running order will pay off in lower fuel consumption and more years of use. And during its lifetime, a well-tuned car emits several tonnes less CO₂ and other pollutants.

Keeping tires properly inflated is the simplest task. Underinflated tires increase resistance between the car and the road. They reduce fuel efficiency and wear down the tire's tread prematurely. The difference in fuel efficiency between proper and improper tire pressure is about 5%. That's a lot. Get professionals to rotate and balance your tires twice a year and check that the front end is in alignment. Fuel efficiency drops further when these things are not taken care of.



Regular tune-ups are critical. Something as simple as a clogged \$15 air filter can reduce fuel efficiency by 10%. Furthermore, spark plugs build up carbon deposits, emission control systems lose efficiency, brakes can be severely dragging on wheels, and air conditioners may be leaking, converting CFCs into the atmosphere.

An oil change should be your most frequent maintenance activity. Changing the oil purges tiny bits of metal that can harm engine parts, and fresh oil does a better job of lubricating, cooling, and protecting the engine against corrosion, thereby improving fuel economy. Re-refined motor oil is just as good for your car as virgin oil, and there's an environmental bonus: it reduces the need for crude oil to be taken from the ground. Recycling also helps prevent used oil from being dumped illegally. One

litre of motor oil when dispersed can contaminate 4.5 million litres of fresh water! Look for Canada's EcoLogo on re-refined motor oils. On any oil you buy, look for the term "Energy-Conserving II." This denotes an additive that reduces engine friction and improves fuel efficiency.

High-octane gasoline is not necessarily an advantage for the vehicles most of us drive. Over one-third of all Canadian drivers use it under the mistaken impression that it's better for their cars. The truth is that high-octane fuels prevent engine "knocking," but only in high-performance engines. Unless your vehicle manual specifically states that octane is required, you are wasting money with these higher priced fuels. Plus, high-octane fuels contain "aromatic hydrocarbons" that are harmful to our health.

Consider fuel alternatives that can save you money and reduce emissions. Most cars can easily be converted to natural gas or propane, an

Saver or spender? Know your options.

The options you choose in the showroom will affect your car's fuel efficiency for life.

Fuel-saving Options	Options with Little or No Effect on Fuel Economy	Options that Increase Fuel Consumption
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • small engine • small turbocharged engine • manual transmission • overdrive (manual or automatic) • diesel engine • cruise control • fuel injection • fuel economy restrainers (shift indicator light) • black boxes, preferably with timer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • space-saver spare tire • exterior trim packages • tinted glass (on cars without air conditioning) • heavy-duty suspension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high-performance engine • turbocharged V8 engine • altered carburetor on a V8 engine • lean-wheel drive • power brakes • power steering • air conditioning • power windows and seats • heated seats • radio lock • roof rack

especially good move for high-mileage vehicles. Vehicle manufacturers are now producing cars that operate on natural gas, propane, and methanol (an alcohol fuel). Ethanol-gasoline

blends, which can be used in gasoline-burning vehicles, are increasingly available at service stations. Check with fuel suppliers for information or call AutoSmart at 1-800-387-8690.

Steps You Can Take Today

Being AutoSmart is a matter of developing new habits — and looking at your car as a source of savings. It takes commitment. It takes perseverance. And it pays off. Remember these important AutoSmart strategies:

Use your car less. Car pool with fellow commuters or parents. Take a bicycle. Walk. Use the public transit. Some families establish a "no-car" radius of five to ten blocks around their home.

To test your ability to get around comfortably without your car consider a "No Car Week." Be resourceful. Share rides. Then calculate the savings — in money and pollution.

Post a car-pool notice at your office or any other place you travel to regularly. Someone who wants to share rides may live close by. You'll both save a significant amount.

If your family has two cars and one is more fuel efficient, try to use it for longer trips.

When buying a new car, consider fuel-efficient models first. The smaller the engine, the less fuel it will consume. Less fuel means lower operating costs and fewer emissions.

Consider new-car options that improve fuel efficiency: manual transmission, overdrive, a black box, and cruise control.

Consider alternative fuels. Natural gas and propane are cheaper than gasoline and produce lower levels of carbon monoxide and CO₂. Alcohol fuels like ethanol and methanol are also a greener option.

Plan your automobile outings. By combining several errands in one trip you'll save time. Your car will use less fuel and emit less pollution.

Avoid traffic by driving in off-peak hours. Starting and stopping in heavy traffic greatly reduces fuel efficiency and increases emissions.

Avoid idling. An idling engine gets zero kilometres per litre. Less fuel is required to restart your car than letting it idle for one minute. Half-an-hour of idling consumes roughly 1.5 litres of gasoline, depending on the size of your engine.

Don't exceed the speed limit. On average, a vehicle uses about 20% more fuel at 110 km/h than at 90 km/h.

Keep your vehicle properly tuned and maintained. Improperly tuned cars can emit up to ten times the usual pollutants. Fuel consumption goes up too.

Call AutoSmart at 1-800-387-8690 for your Free Car Economy Calculator. Use it to keep a record of your car's fuel consumption.

Helpful Hints

The trick to being AutoSmart is that many small actions amount to significant progress if repeated consistently over the years. Remember, there are two ways to save money — setting cash aside and avoiding costs. Cost-avoidance is often easier. By applying AutoSmart techniques like these, your car won't cost you the world, and the world won't suffer as much.

◆ If you use snow tires, install them as late as possible in the season and remove them as early as possible. They have an "aggressive" tread that increases fuel consumption.

◆ A diesel engine is a good choice. Diesel engines burn fuel more efficiently than gasoline engines. Plus, diesel fuel contains more energy and is usually cheaper.

◆ Remove portable roof racks when they aren't being used. They increase aerodynamic drag and fuel consumption.

◆ Learn to "flow" through traffic and avoid stops and starts that consume extra fuel. Maintain generous space between your car and the one ahead, and anticipate the movements of other vehicles so you can drive smoothly around them.

◆ In warmer weather, try using the blowers and flow-through ventilation system rather than leaving windows open when driving on the highway. Open windows increase aerodynamic drag and fuel consumption.

◆ If you have a manual transmission, remember that lower gears burn fuel faster. Always drive in a higher gear when appropriate.

◆ Avoid "flooding" your gas pedal from a dead stop. You'll consume about 50% more fuel during a "jackrabbit" start than if you pull away gradually. Catalytic converters aren't able to handle the sudden surge of fuel, permitting more pollutants to escape from the tailpipe.

◆ Don't "top off" your tank to the brim when buying gasoline. The excess fuel will likely spill out due to natural expansion.

◆ Change your oil and oil filter frequently. Oil breaks down under use and won't lubricate, cool, or protect as well. Most car makers recommend an oil change every 3,000 kilometres if you follow that schedule, your car will perform better.

◆ Improper wheel alignment will wear your tires prematurely. To check the alignment of your car, release the steering wheel at an even speed in a flat, empty parking lot. If the car veers to one side, chances are the alignment is out.

◆ Don't "rev" the engine after start-up or before shutting your car off. It causes excessive wear and consumes fuel.

◆ Instruct your mechanic check the emission-control system on your car during the next tune-up. Few do it as a matter of course, yet it's the only way you'll find out if the system is working.

◆ Keep your tires properly inflated to maximize fuel efficiency. Check them at home with a pressure gauge while the tires are still cold. Warm tires give an inaccurate reading because inflation pressure increases during use.

◆ Look for oil products marked "Energy Conserving II." They contain additives that can increase fuel economy by 3%.

THE AUTOSMART QUIZ

How AutoSmart are you? Take the following quiz to find out.

1. CO₂ emissions per vehicle have declined drastically over the past 20 years, but CO, from all cars is still rising. **T Q F Q**

2. It is mandatory for automobile manufacturers to inform customers of the fuel efficiency rating on all new cars. **T Q F Q**

3. No matter what model of car you buy, the options you choose will make a difference in its fuel consumption. **T Q F Q**

4. Accelerating quickly from stops will always reduce the time it takes to get from one place to another. **T Q F Q**

5. Driving fast reduces fuel consumption because you get to your destination in less time. **T Q F Q**

6. In winter, it's smart to warm up your car for about five minutes so the engine doesn't strain with the cold. **T Q F Q**

7. Using the drive-through window at a fast-food place is a better way to conserve fuel than shutting the car off, going in to get your food, and starting the car up again. **T Q F Q**

8. The older your car, the less you can do to improve its fuel efficiency. **T Q F Q**

9. Changing your oil regularly will reduce engine wear. **T Q F Q**

10. When driving in warm weather at high speeds, it's more fuel efficient to use the air conditioner than the flow-through ventilation system in your car. **T Q F Q**

11. An irregularly maintained car will produce emissions five to ten times greater than a car in proper running order. **T Q F Q**

12. Recycled oil breaks down faster than "virgin" oil. **T Q F Q**

13. Tire rotation is no longer necessary with modern radials. **T Q F Q**

14. A dirty air filter causes the engine to labour but has no discernible effect on fuel efficiency. **T Q F Q**

15. You can buy replaceable parts for your car, like spark plugs and reusable oil filters, that are of higher quality than the originals and will last for tens of thousands more miles. **T Q F Q**

16. The ozone-depleting CFC coolant in your car's air conditioner can be collected and recycled. **T Q F Q**

17. When the automatic shut-off valve on a gas pump signals that your tank is full, you should add just a little more. **T Q F Q**

18. The Fuel Consumption Guide can help you compare the fuel efficiency of cars you're considering buying. **T Q F Q**

19. There are over 35,000 vehicles running on natural gas in Canada. **T Q F Q**

20. Using high-octane gasoline makes your car last longer. **T Q F Q**

Answers

1. T 2. F 3. T 4. F 5. F 6. F 7. T 8. F 9. T 10. F 11. T 12. F 13. F 14. F 15. T 16. T 17. F 18. T 19. T 20. F

? \$? \$? \$? \$? \$? \$? \$? \$?

A large car that burns 34 litres of gasoline to travel 100 kilometres will emit 69 tonnes of CO₂ during its lifetime. A typical smaller car that burns 9 litres every 100 kilometres will emit only 38 tonnes of CO₂ over the same total distance. By choosing the more fuel-efficient car, you can save the environment 33 tonnes of CO₂. The average car fuel is about 8,000 litres, which translates into approximately \$4,500. Think what you could do with that money. Volvos. Turbos. Retrofitted savings.





Take the AutoSmart pledge.

Join thousands of Canadians in making a cleaner, brighter future for everyone. Commit to the AutoSmart movement. When we hit the AutoSmart road together, the environment wins, and so do we.

For more information, please call:
The AutoSmart Line
1-800-387-2000



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Let's take the road together.
 2001-1-400-387-2000

The Juice played here

O. J. Simpson's murder trial grips Buffalo

On a bitter, snow-furled day last week in suburban Orchard Park, N.Y., the hunch came at the Big T. The bar was warming up in front of the television, but a couple of long passes from their lockers, some of Buffalo's Bulls to Bulls, the Big Ties is a favorite of sports fans. Memorabilia signed by Buffalo's hockey, baseball and football athletes adorn the walls. There are numerous photos of pro-

fessional Dan DeMarco posing with current members of the Bulls. But the local hero who preoccupies people in the bar these days has not worn a Buffalo uniform for nearly 10 years. O. J. Simpson, the record-setting running back who brought glory to the Bills in the 1970s and whose picture is locked in a glass showcase at the back of the bar, is once again *The Man*. His later-day image, from a trial in faraway Los Angeles, where he is accused of murdering his ex-wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend Ronald Goldman, appears on all five TV sets around the bar. His former fans are transfixed. "I can get every sports channel in the house anymore," DeMarco says of his studio system, "but the trial is what everyone wants to watch."

The trial, of course, is a world-wide obsession, but Buffalonians take a more personal interest. Buffalo, the second-largest city in New York state and a thriving Lake Erie port, had by the late 1980s become a charter member of America's rust belt. As downtown left barren by the migration to the suburbs, its image the last of mid-shore cities. Simpson was a welcome addition—born 1949 to 2007, his on-field exploits put a little shine on civic pride. The Bills became contenders and, in 1973, Simpson became the first player to break the 2,000-yard barrier—a first that has since been bettered only once. Images and accounts of his glory days still hold places of honor on the walls of local establishments and in the memories of their patrons.

At the Big Ties, Keith Bellars and his brother Mark were watching the trial on the big screen and hunking into the daily special—hot sandwich, cold potatoes and corn. "The Bellars brothers, longtime Bills fans, and that Simpson no longer has equaled aspect among his former cheering section. "He has been gone for a long time," said Mark, "and I think people here are interested in the

trial for the same reason everyone else—they want to know if he did it or not." Still, the brothers, general contractors working on a nearby construction job, have made the six-week trial a business staple. Even during painful dull testimony from a hospitalized police officer named Tim Lange, Keith Bellars claimed that it was still worth watching. "There's always something, some fact, some evidence, that you never know before," he said.



The same holds for the crowd at Wilson's Grille, a watering hole in a downtown, mostly black neighborhood, and Buffalo fans, in a hand-painted sign outside, claim to be the "House of the Blues." Edna Wilson, whose family owns the bar, says he and the regulars watch and discuss the testimony all week. "It just takes one person to bring the conversation up, and it rolls back and forth along the bar," Wilson says. "Everybody becomes a defense attorney, a prosecutor—whatever. It's constant." Inevitably, talk turns to the subject of guilt or innocence, and the Green Grille customers seem to support polls which say that black Americans are more likely than whites to give Simpson the benefit of the doubt. But John Lane, a construction worker who is a regular in the Grille's debates, says he bases his opinion on the evidence presented, not on skin color. "I don't think this has anything to do with black and white," Lane said. "It's just a moral thing." John Perrelli, a former, unemployed policeman, "The other side can't get nothing on O. J., nothing bad. Not yet, anyway."

Even for the hardest-core trial junkies around the bar, last week's proceedings were mostly piddling. Defense attorney Johnnie Cochran Jr., who cross-examined Lange, spent the week trying to prove that the police department's investigation was both incomplete and incompetent. The only dramatic scene when Judge Lance Ito held deputy district attorney Christopher Darden on contempt after a verbal skirmish during one of the court's many sidebars. Darden eventually apologized. The more interesting developments occurred away from the courtroom. A mock jury assembled by a Texas newspaper was disbanded after two of its members nearly came to blows. A woman named Kathleen Bell, who the defense says can support charges of racism against prosecuting officer Mark Fuhrman—the de-

fendant who found a bloody glove at the Simpson estate—said she would sue locally—and then charged her maid and L.A. *Globe* at Jerry O'Garra said that his department would deny the case in the event of a hung jury or an acquittal. "I think the probability is very high that the 12 [jurors] that are sitting right now are not going to be the 12 who will ultimately enter the decision," Garra said. That did not surprise the Big Ties crowd, where the industry speculated that Simpson was directly or indirectly involved in the slayings but would go free anyway. DeMarco was among the dissenting minority. "Maybe that's because I met the man," DeMarco said about occasions when Simpson would drop by the bar. "He just didn't seem to be the kind of guy who could do that." On one subject, though, patrons at the Big Ties and the Green Grille were in complete accord. O. J. the football player still commands respect bordering on awe. "He was just great," Keith Bellars explained. "He was The Juice."

JAMES DEACON in Buffalo

Canada's man of steel



■ **Ernst is octogenarian**: *Aggressive* brutal power and an old-time flair for the theatrical

Guyana's Ernst has fingers as thick as Hassen's quack. As a duck in a country where poof and shoulders are broad they threaten to blot out the sun. And on New Year's Eve, the first-foot, 11:00 p.m., 15:00 p.m. party was declared out in a black night, snoring under the moon and stars at the Symphony House Social Hall where the dark-billed Ernst is a purchaser of a different sort. At his command, a pair of grand pianos and a six-piece dance band were loaded onto a 600-lb., riveted wooden platform. Posing for effect, Ernst called for 12 more by-standers to climb aboard. Then, stepping to a catnap section of the platform, he bent and abandoned the lead. He brand a note "Two pairs posing first" as he straddled against the weight with his back. But all the music, the second lead, Ernst raised the lead on both or so of the crowd.

That is what the man does: stunts of strength. A gentle giant who has lived his 35 years in the farming and fishing hamlet of First Pointe-au-Loup on Nova Scotia's placid north shore, Ernst wants to be compared, not to the caulked-up specimens of modern weight-

Ernst has lifted more weight, unaided than anyone in history," declares Todd.

Strong men have been aging about who lifted what for centuries. But by any standard, Ernst is brutally powerful. Using the built-in bar, he has hoisted everything from automobiles to cars. And despite his farm-boy appearance, he also has an old-time flair for the theatrical that he deploys for audiences by clanking his 600-lb. boulder—or by lifting a 200-lb. sack across his chest and then whipping it several steps for a Marxist's photographer. "I guess I'm sort of a traditionalist," he says. "I like to lift things you could imagine the strong men of ancient Greece lifting."

Of course, such latter-day rats raise suspicions. But Ernst insists he has never sampled anything resembling amirals. He was born big, weighing 25 lb by his first birthday, and basking in his luxury by killing a ton of sheet metal off the ground at the age of 12. Nowadays, he maintains his brawn with torturous twice-weekly lifting sessions in the subterranean basement of his farmhouse. And he adheres to a high-protein diet that includes a couple of pounds of red meat and a gallon of yogurt daily, loads of hot wild apple juice and heavy servings of sauerkraut, a staple the north shore.

—when lots of strength capable of destruction—First, would be a lying legend. Instead, total anonymity, escaping out a chance for his wife, Jennie, and then—aged eight years down to —by working their 350 acres of peat on the occasional estate. “Never going to happen,” asked if he will one day be able to get from his lifting. The bag in iron man contests, he says, are at the cost of flying from Halifax and the other region.

...says he's given in that dangerous, loading zones of concrete onto existing platters, and hoping his ally will not collapse under the calculation that ultimately the onus is the question of who is the one at all is by lifting more weight on himself. "I've got another 100 lbs. to go," he says. "My big lift is ahead of me." So, perhaps, is the case in the second books.

JOHN DEBOST as King Heracles

SPORTS WATCH



The brave souls behind the masks

BY TRENT FRAYNE

In the first month of their abbreviated season, the National Hockey League's 28 teams had managed to induce 96 more or less disaffected fans to flock into the big pads and line hundreds of frozen rubber gloves confining at them at the speed of sound. By contrast, back in the days of antiquity when Gordie Howe and Rocket Richard were despoiling goalkeepers, a mere nine pups did all the hussle-keeping in the padded circle. It was a hockey league back then, or, in 1857, even before Jacques Plante didn't wear a mask in full—much to the chagrin of people like Gordie Howe and Bill Chelios, who were the full 6'6-inch, 200-pounders of Detroit, Chicago and Toronto, respectively, with lined jerseys.

So now, with same team employing as many as four goalies in the first month, the game obviously has changed dramatically and the toll on the species is immense. The other day, Ken Wengert of Pittsburgh was being damn nearly laughed for having endured the full 60 minutes of every one of the Penguins' first 15 games. Yep, 15 games with *no* substitutions.

Unprecedented? Well, not quite. When Glenn Hall was finding pucks for Detroit and Chicago, he ran up 582 complete games in 10 years.

Choreographer. You say, but guys didn't shoot as hard back then, nor were there as many of the curved sticks, either. They were sticks and no dance. No deflections, either. So there was a lot less stress on the guidelines, really? Well, hardly. A fellow-singer named Rocky Hill came along in 1987, an excessively talented item boy who inspired the displaced, and the storm-torned Glenn Hill was notorious as a guy who brought up his coaters before nearly every guy. Rocky Hill, his coach at Chicago in 1991, once resented a particularly tense scene against the Canadian in front of the 20,000 inmates who used to fill every corner in the old Chicago Stadium, frequently in town the way we talk. After one stageful

If things are so awful, how come any freckle-faced, wide-eyed boy decides that when he grows up he wants to be a goalie?

while workmen scooped up the trash, play could not be resumed: the Chicago act was vacant not only of overbooks and brasserie and program but also of its regular tenant. Hall had taken advantage of the delay to go bring up more kasha in the Hawk boulder down a flight of stairs back of his cove.

Still, with 30 guys shelling work in the first month, the game is different nowadays. And perhaps what poses the most stress upon the grandstanders is the frequent time-outs caused by producers jet lag, the fact that everybody, not just a lone Holey Hail, has a clipboard, and the length of the seasons. "I've tried that the Big Game season of a non-stop last year is only 14 games longer than the 30 games of the 2006s, but back then only our team made the playoffs and the Stanley Cup was back in mothballs by the middle of April." Nowadays, 16 teams plod through best-of-seven-game series and it's June before the Stanley Cup finds a home.

Accordingly, if things are as usual how could any freckle-faced, wide-eyed boy decide that when he grows up he wants to be a goalie? For one thing, there's no inspiration. When your agent was a kid, the govt hero in Brandon, Mass., was Walter (Turk) Braden.

who played goal for the Toronto Maple Leafs in winter and came home to our swastika eyes a hero in summer. I wanted to be a goalkeeper like Tuck, to have people recognize that I existed. It could have happened, too, because I had every ingredient except two to be a star on the ice and between the pipes: I was (a) scared and (b) lousy.

But some guys weren't. Ken Dryden, who became practically immortal in the Montreal Canadiens hallowed goal crease, relates in his classic book, *The Game*, that while he is not quite sure why he became a goaltender, it's probably because his brother Dave was one. "Almost six years older, Dave started playing goal before I was old enough to play any position, so by the time I was 6 and ready to play, there was a set of used and discarded equipment that awaited me—that and an older brother I always tried to emulate."

Ensalada is a key word. It illustrates why a generation of young French-speaking kids in Quebec aspired to the heights attained by the unforgettable Jacques Plante. Among them was another Canadian superstar, Patrick Roy, now setting standards of his own for a new generation of dreamers.

When I was a kid, fear was the emotion that turned away small numbers of aspiring goaltenders. That was a time before the November night in 1989 when Jacques Plante dished his coach Toe Blake and made his lemons make bread through them. Some people still harbor the notion that goaltending is the most dangerous position in sports, but Ken Dryden isn't one of them, noting that contemporary technology "like a net below a trapeze act," has made a landing injury not very likely.

Until the mask, though, there were some terrifying injuries, and other damaging ones that the goalies simply post-poached. I remember Eddie Johnston, currently the coach

teffing me about picking up three of his aces broken means in a five-day period when he was backstopping the Braves. "I broke it in New York and took 18 stitches. There used to be this little doc in the Gardens there, Yasagawa, who we all called Kamikazi, and he'd just rush up and give the man a quick treat to bang it back into place. The next night in Boston I broke it again for 12 more, and then we went into Montreal and I broke it again. But did I have sense enough to put on a muscle? No, neither one of us did."

The mask has added something else, apart from a certain fearlessness, which Dryden, the thinking man's goalkeeper, has observed in the skill of three of today's leading scrabbers, Montreal's Roy, Ed Bellier of Chicago, and the slender youth in the Toronto club, Felix Poulos. Ken notes that they use the face mask as an added blocker to augment the one they wear on their stick hands. "They couldn't play as they do unless they knew their faces were protected. They can crouch way down, their faces lower and lower, so the puck is much better."



The 'greenhouse' gap

Two world leaders met in the city of Berlin for the 1996 Earth Summit. Canada's delegates enthusiastically backed measures to reduce emissions of the greenhouse gases that scientists believe could dangerously overheat the planet's atmosphere. When a follow-up conference begins in Berlin later this month, the Canadian presence could be more muted. The reason: a federal-provincial meeting in Toronto last week concluded that an array of voluntary Canadian programs are likely to hit 13 per cent short of the goal agreed upon in Rio—cutting carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. Despite that gloomy forecast, federal Environment Minister Sheila Copps is sure that Canada should still be able to fulfill its Rio commitment. Many provinces are moving to reduce emissions, she said, and Ottawa plans further measures, including possible steps to raise minimum standards for cars and trucks. "I am confident," Copps told *Maclean's*, "that Canada will meet its stabilization goal by the year 2000."

Still, it has proven difficult to win support for the kind of measures needed to reduce atmospheric emissions in Canada. For one thing, there is relatively little public pressure for them—a reflection of the slump drop in concern for the environment, as recorded in opinion polls. And then there is Alberta. Canada's main oil producer is also a major source of CO₂, but its government has steadfastly refused to consider any measures that go beyond voluntary action. At the Toronto meeting, a heated debate erupted over the question of whether Canadian governments, federal or provincial, should enact regulatory measures that could, for example, impose trading emission standards on industry or automobile owners. Still, Copps "didn't want to agree to the Rio goal." The province's stance drew sharp criticism from other conference participants. While some provincial governments see "environmental issues as growing," said British Columbia Environment Minister Mike Sison, "others, like Alberta, seem to have their heads stuck in the sand."

The failure of Ottawa and the provinces to agree on tougher measures means that Canada could be in for a painful loss of face at the 30-day climate-change conference that opens in Berlin on March 28. There, signatories to the Rio Convention on Climate Change will out-

come. They are the only country that hasn't produced a plan to do it." Instead, an array of voluntary programs operated by Ottawa and the provinces have just begun to reduce emissions in the country that is the industrial world's second largest per capita producer of greenhouse gases after the United States. The voluntary programs include efforts to make industrial operations, office buildings, houses and household appliances more energy efficient, thus reducing the use of such fossil fuels as oil and natural gas, which produce CO₂.

But environmentalists and other critics say that more far-reaching measures will be needed for Canada to significantly reduce the growing volume of CO₂ and other heat-trapping gases in the atmosphere. According to Sison, "you would have to look at some pretty strict measures to close that 13-percent gap, including tougher automobile emission standards and perhaps the mandatory use of alternative fuels such as ethanol and methanol." Sison and others within the next few months he will probably introduce measures in the British Columbia legislature to do both these things.

Most environmentalists agree that if Canada is serious about reducing greenhouse gas emissions, even more far-reaching measures will be needed to wean Canadians away from their reliance on petroleum products. One option: shifting millions of dollars annually in federal subsidies and tax breaks away from the oil and natural gas industry—and towards alternative energy sources. But Alberta opposes any measures that would threaten its petroleum-based economy. "We believe," said Alberta's Energy Minister Brian Black, "that economic and environmental development must go hand in hand. We refuse to realize that." Canada backs that with the memory of the federal Liberals' 1980 National Energy Program—which was bitterly resented in Alberta—etched sharply in Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's memory. "Ottawa is about to risk any action that might be thrown back in its face as 'NOT O'." As it is, Black, who Copps and the Canadian delegation arrive in Berlin in late March, they say it is difficult to persuade other nations that Canada's environmental image still has its roots.

MARK MOCHLES

Flash-hour traffic: a sharp decline in public concern

like the steps they are taking to reduce the emissions of gases that contribute to the so-called green-house effect. Many scientists believe that CO₂ and other man-made gases in the atmosphere trap heat and could cause a sharp rise in global temperatures in the next century, leading to parched lands and flooding of low-lying areas as polar ice melts and sea levels rise. "It's really frustrating," said Kemp Jardine, a Toronto-based spokesman for the environmental organization Greenpeace Canada. "Canada is going to have one of the worst plans for curbing greenhouse gases in the industrialized world."

In fact, only a handful of industrialized nations—including Britain, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands—are expected to succeed in stabilizing or reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 2000. But Louise Corneau, a climate-change expert at the Ottawa-based Sierra Club of Canada, noted that while other industrialized nations target, "they at least have

"The Canadian teen series scores another emotional bullseye"

Clare Buckley, Toronto Sun



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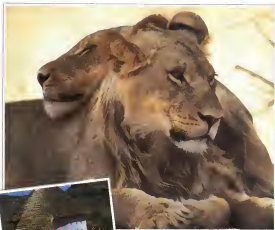
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PEOPLE



Smith: WUW's far her new job as a DJ.

ON SCREEN AND CANVAS

Canadian actor **Dan Aykroyd** has never been content simply to cash in on his good looks. With classic leading-man features, he was critically regarded as the smooth-talking, suave star **Errol Flynn** in the TV movie *My Wilder Wilder Way* and as Zorro on the syndicated TV series of the same name. Later this year, he will be on the big screen in *The Usual Suspects*, a futuristic thriller co-starring **Pat Morita** and **Joanna Pacula**. But when he isn't practicing his craft, the Vancouver-based Aykroyd is practicing his art in his no-nonsense poster who has had numerous overseas shows at New York City, Los Angeles and points in between. *Balanced Risk* recently published *Dan Aykroyd's* a lively illustrated autobiography in art, poetry and prose. "I treat it like a life," he says of his variety of artistic disciplines. "rather than separate careers."



Aykroyd, life

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

SINGING A SIGNATURE

Singer-songwriter **Lauren Smith** received an unusual form of audience approval when she performed at Montreal's *Session* coffeehouse. The 16-year-old Smith just sang. After she sang *My Honey Laid over the Ocean*—a traditional tune to which she has added her own retches—a man stood up with a hand-pumped sign that said: "WOW!" It echoed an admiring WUW from *OC Radio* last Peter Dinklage, who has covered Smith's version on his *Musings* program after "the phones rang off the hook" the first time, he said. The song, which has become almost a signature tune for Smith, is one of 11 folk, pop, country and blues numbers featured on her new solo release, *Where the Heart and My Soul*. Enthusiastic feedback last week after her 16-hour Canadian tour, the 42-year-old Smith was back in Halifax, where she has lived since 1988. Originally from London, Ont., Smith moved to Cape Breton in 1984, where her music and songwriting took flight. "I just felt like I was home," says Smith. "I felt appreciated as a musician, and that does wonders for your confidence." And, judging by the enthusiasm she encountered during her tour, that appreciation appears to be spreading fast from the East Coast.



Anderson: a short engagement

HONEY, DO

The giant list was small, and the casting budget wasn't even more so. On Feb. 16, **Patricia Anderson**, the 27-year-old Canadian actress who plays the ill-fated C.J. on the syndicated TV series *Baywatch*, married **Tommy Lee**, 32, drummer for the heavy-metal band *Mötley Crüe*, in Cancun, Mexico. The bride wore a white bikini under a short gauzy gown. The groom, who was married for eight years to another blond rock actress, **Heather Locklear**, simply wore white Bermuda shorts. The couple invited just four friends to the hastily arranged wedding and Anderson's mother was not among them. **Sniffed Carol Anderson**: "I have never even heard Pam mention this boy's name."

PIANO SIX APPEAL

A publicity stunt or, it was definitely one of the classiest. Last week, six internationally acclaimed Canadian concert pianists took to stages in Toronto and Quebec City where they performed solos, duets and multi-piano arrangements of such classics as *Beethoven's* *Diabelli* and *Mozart's* *Twelve Variations*. The soloists were: the reigning god of Piano Six, a unique partnership in which each artist has pledged to tour for 10 days each year for the next 10 years to rural and isolated communities throughout Canada. Piano Six is the brainchild of **Joanna Fallows**, a leading interpreter of Chopin, who says that she and the others—**Ann MacLean**, **Angela Cheng**, **André Laplante**—have all agreed to accept about 10 per cent of their usual fees so that small venues can afford world-class performances. As well as taking the music they love to "fresh, uncynical" audiences, Fallows says the artists have another goal in mind: to develop the audiences of the future. While in the communities, the artists will also perform school concerts and talk to students.



Fallows: a concert

THEATRE TOMMY'S HOME-TOWN HERO

Des McNeill first heard *Tommy* in the summer of '69. He had been going out with his rock band as the bassist of a friend's house in the Toronto suburb of Scarborough. The band's music had just bought the new double album by The Who. After the rehearsal, they went up to the living room and got a bottle of beer. "It was a big event," McNeill recalls. "We sat there and listened to it right through—as God knows what, my guitar is just or bass—and I remember being really struck by it. Here was a prominent rock 'n' roll songwriter [Pete Townshend] the creator of *My Generation*, who was writing music that



He loved it in '69, and now he directs it



sounded suspiciously like theatre. I remember being out of control, thinking, 'I wish I could do that. He wasn't that much older than me. I was 17, he would have been 23.'

A quarter-century later, the rock band and the rock star are partners. As director and co-writer of *Tommy* the musical, McNeill helped Townshend reconnect his own—a global portrait of the artist as a young satirist—on the Broadway stage. And for McNeill, *Tommy*'s success marks a crowning achievement in a brilliant career. A dual citizen of Canada and the United States, he was born in Princeton, Ill., but raised and educated in Toronto, where he first was inchoate as a composer, playwright and director. Now, he returns to his home town in triumph, swelling a new Canadian production of *Tommy*, which premieres this week at the Elgin Theatre.

At 62, McNeill has racked up an impressive score in the worlds of American theatre. The last two seasons he directed—*Tommy* and *Big*

Tommy scores; McNeill bows!
The Toronto version marks a triumphant return to his stage roots.

Beer (1989)—won a combined total of 12 Tony Awards, including Best Director in both cases. The San Diego-born LaJolla Playhouse, where he has served as artistic director since 1992, has become one of the most celebrated stages on the continent—in 1993, it was the Tony Award for Outstanding Achievement in Regional Theatre. Meanwhile, McNeill has been re-emerging in other venues, trained at Broadway, *Two by Two* at the Barrow Midland Studio Theatre, and, with Townshend, he is taking on Hollywood. They are negotiating with Warner Bros. to turn Townshend's *Love Man*, a children's musical, into an animated feature.

It is just five days before the first preview performance of *Tommy* in Toronto. At The Elgin, piled high through the fire-arms and stucco are best new computer screens, billboards with lighting cues. Cast members mill about. A parent doddles. A vocalie swoops through her warm-up scales. McNeill sits down for an interview, choosing a seat halfway up the aisle. Downward in a Manhattan jacket and jeans, he has the casual, good-natured manner of someone who makes his living putting actors to ease.

As he begins to run through his life story, it becomes apparent that in his case, as in Townshend's, there are some striking parallels with the story of *Tommy*, beginning with the backdrop of the Second World War. Like the hero of the musical, McNeill is the son of a Royal Air Force pilot who fought in the war. When Tommy is born, his father, Captain Walker, is grounded, killed in action. And the director's father, a veterinarian named Wilkes McNeill, was killed in a car crash three months before Des was born. Des was named after a friend of his father, an RAF pilot who died in combat. His mother, Ellen, later married a salesman named John Boyd, another former RAF flyer

and he, like The Who's John Entwistle, and Tommy's Uncle Ernie, played French horn—"I grew up with the sound of Bessie on Sunday all mornings," recalls McNeill.

There are a few other odd light patterns in his life. He spent some of his early childhood living with his grandparents near Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, on the outskirts of Toronto, and his first memories are of single-cupped places and guitars coming in to land. His output as a playwright, screenwriter, includes something called *The Death of Vice* (written as Howard Jones Esq.), a play with *Flying and Sings*. McNeill believes to connect the dots of his playing with too much comic import. "After all, it's just coincidence," he says. "But there must be something to it. I made a very personal connection to *Tommy*."

A precocious talent, McNeill was performing folk music in cafeterias at 14. He soon graduated to rock, forming a succession of garage bands. Meanwhile, he was discovering classical theatre, acting in *The Sound of Music*, *The Fugate Goose* and *Answer Get Your Gaze* at Scarborough's Wilburton College. At the end of the 1960s, with the arrival of *Musé*, McNeill suddenly saw how his two passions, rock and theatre, could be combined. Auditioning for the Toronto cast of *Flare*, he failed to survive the final cut. Then, inspired by *Tommy*, he decided it was time to write and direct his own rock musical—at the age of 19.

Unlabeled, it was a semi-fictional fantasy about a demented city, an Orwellian dictatorship of pleasure. McNeill mounted the piece at his own school with a rock band and a cast of 50, then secured a one-week run first at a downtown alternative theatre, the Poor Alex. *Tommy* Star reviewer Dyo Karda called the script "really doubtful," but praised Des-mo's "nuptial confusion" and "raw power."

After high school, McNeill enrolled in the theatre program at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and cranked out three plays in his first year. One of them, *Leave It to Beaver* is *Dead*, made his name. Director Paul Bertin, then a dramaturg at the Factory Lab Theatre, played McNeill's play from a huge stack of scripts submitted in a contest teaching students from across Canada in 1973. "It was quite surreal," Bertin recalls. "I stuck out a mile from the rest. The dialogue was extremely vivid in a slangy, poetic way. It was like a Sam Shepard play."

After the shortest stint in McNeill's theatre, Bertin viewed that if he ever opened a theatre, he would associate it with *Leave It to Beaver* & *Dead*.

He made good on his promise with the opening of Toronto's experimental Theatre Second Floor, in 1975. The happy emblem of McNeill's play struck a sufficiently experimental chord. "The play is essentially about a drug dealer that turns into something called the *Star* where people come in to cut their hair," says McNeill. "It ends with the inevitable early '60s bloodbath when the wrong person walks in off the street at a private concert."

The play made a splash and drew good reviews. By then, McNeill had seen three more of his plays staged around town. He had also composed the score for Michael Ondaatje's *The Englishman's Boy* at the *Star* (1974), which was mounted in Toronto, Washington, and at the Manitoba Theatre Centre—where McNeill started his first role. And as a director, he began to make his mark with daring local productions of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and *The Banquet* by Karpman. Meanwhile, recalls Bertin, "Des-mo's seemed mostly interested in being a rock 'n' roll star. He was always trying to get you to sit down and listen to this song he'd written. And he always had beautiful looking girlfriends."

With a resolutely strong desire for a Bystander, in 1977 McNeill was invited to direct a 1980s Polish play, *The Gypsy Lamentation*, at New York City's prestigious Chelsea Theatre Centre. And suddenly, he found himself authorizing the likes of *Sweeney Victor* and *Great Class* (the cast class). In Manhattan, McNeill found his niche. The next year, at The Public Theatre, he directed his own version of *Leave It to Beaver* & *Dead*—an award-winning production starring Doree West, Mandy Patinkin, Saul Rubinek and Mary Charles. His career now in full flight, he went on to produce a theatre company called Doggie Productions, to join the faculty of New York's Juillard School and to direct an eclectic range of productions, including Shakespeare plays in Central Park and Ontario's Stratford Festival—finally touching down in La Jolla, which would later serve as the launchpad for *Tommy*.

McNeill first moved to Toronto in 1981, through PRG Theatre Group, the New York-based company that had acquired the rights to *Tommy*. "They brought us together in London, around a big table," he says. "We

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THEATRE

batone of those private conversations in a public meeting. I said, 'I don't want to do it without your blessing,' and he said he was very skeptical about how involved he would be." But after reading MacNeil's script, Tomlinson "realized that I was going to be a co-writer, that Denis was from the same way I am a screenwriter. I really felt that when I walked on, as I do, Des was leaving what I really meant."

In the end, they spent hundreds of hours together discussing the project, MacNeil estimates. "The next six months talking to Peter as about anyone in my life," he says, "and some of it was deeply personal—obviously we were trying to draw on that to create the piece." Adds the director, who has a four-year-old daughter with his wife, actress Susan Bernard: "Being the father of a child the same age as the young Jimmy, I feel profoundly affected about his parents' love that I would have at 20. Everyone who has children has, at one time or another, done something stupid that could have inadvertently caused damage."

Realizing that the central conflict in their story was between Jimmy and himself, MacNeil and Tomlinson made a major structural move. And they subdivided the title into three: Jimmy's of different ages, who would sometimes appear all together. Leaving most of the original music and lyrics intact (and adding one new song), they focused on telling the story visually, through the staging. And that is where MacNeil's screenplay became most apparent. The evocative back-story, the action, the backdrop plot. With rare projections flashing up and scenery flying in and out, Jimmy slips through a wedding, a war, a birth and a murder in 12 minutes flat without a pause.

After summing Jimmy in La Jolla and New York, the structure was set. "This was always looking for new wrinkles," he says. "That's what got Peter excited, when he realized the extraordinary detail you have at your fingertips when you're doing theatre."

Denis, of course, demands perfection. And so the rehearsal room at the Elgin, MacNeil goes back to his job of fine-tuning the show. The cast runs through the Acid Queens scene, featuring Philippine-Canadian Joley Llanocenas in the role that Tina Turner made memorable in Sam Baum's film version. Artificial smoke drifts across the stage. Against a carpeted backdrop, in a jaded setting of trash-can fires, Llanocenas slinks out of the shadows wearing hooker heels with flairs and a T-shirt. Her voice oozes with a scary power: "In the Gypsy—the Acid Queens—guaranteed to turn your soul apart!" MacNeil requests a subtle lighting adjustment. They run the scene again, up to where the Acid Queens speakers hear with a needle—the "Jolly jolly," as the crew call it. MacNeil asks Llanocenas to be "a little wilder" with her prosthetics. She runs through it again. Wilder. And again. Until it is perfect—an impeccable pantomime of sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll. The story runs through basement where Des MacNeil once trained to be a rock star when he, far away

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Cupid's evolution

ANATOMY OF LOVE

(The Discovery Channel, March 6, 11, 20, 27, 3 p.m.)

Western society has a way of looking at love in terms of love. Elsewhere? England. For instance, Lord Romeo and Juliet of the 16th century has the Duke of Windsor and Wallace Simpson or, for that matter, Marge and Homer Simpson. In her introductory 1998 booklets, *Anatomy of Love*, Helen Fisher laid beneath the veneer to find the essence of romance. An anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, she slipped wily-wily through anthropology, archeology, psychology and sociology—and with more than a few scholarly references—to formulate an evolutionary model for human attraction and sexual relationships. Counting, she wrote, is partly founded on the need to select the best mate for continuance of the great post, our race has underpinnings in the desire among female bipeds for protection, stability may have been based in the evolution-

ary imperative for maintaining genetic diversity, and divorce could be a holdover from a naturally occurring process that our prehistoric ancestors practiced. Fisher proposed a general idea of love—and suggested a causality underlying the seemingly individual vagaries of romance.

Now, director Katherine Galley and pro-

A documentary tries to illuminate the reasons for romance

ducer Rachel Law, both of Toronto, have brought three exhaustively researched theories to the small screen. Like the book, the four-hour television program *Anatomy of Love*—which airs in four weekly installments on The Discovery Channel, from March 6 to 27—series is examine the evolutionary roots of romance. But unlike Fisher's study, the TV

version takes a more illustrative approach, attempting to dramatize the theory with real-life love stories. The result is a stream of often-moving interviews with surprisingly honest people in Canada, the United States, Japan and the Sanbaro tribe of northern Kenya. Unfortunately, it also presents a rather muddled exposition of Fisher's ideas.

Anatomy of Love is part science documentary, part talk show. Each episode examines one of the major facets of Fisher's book. The first is Courtship, followed by Marriage, Adultery and Divorcing, Infidelity, Reproductive, and Satisfying. In each, Fisher, who hosts the series, begins by explaining her idea on the process in question—and then the rest of the show comprises one-on-one interviews with earnest, honest people, talking about their dating woes, their married bliss, their infidelities, their divorces. It is a bit like watching *Goodwill or Sally Jessy Raphael*, but without the rickshaw marriage of a holier-than-thou studio audience.

In fact, the strength of the series lies in the way it simply lets the interview subjects talk. Courtship is perhaps the best episode, with its subjects' frank discussion of the leeches and confusions that propel them to look for relationships. Among them is Isabel, an attractive, thirtyish advertising copywriter in Manhattan who has decided to get serious about finding a man to marry. In a series of interviews spanning several months, the camera follows her expectations of, and tech-



Kenyan bride and groom: a desire among female bipeds for protection

niques for finding a mate—even as her search proves fruitless. "I just want," says Isabel, waging a war from the corner of her eye and sending us embarrassment, "somebody who wants to be with me."

Part 3, Marriage, follows the progress of weddings in Japan, New Jersey and among the Sanbaro. It is the weakest of the four segments, largely because it deals with pretty banal stuff. But the pace, and voyeuristic appeal, pick up with Part 4, Adultery. It includes an interview with a middle-aged Japanese businessman who lives with his wife and children on Sundays—but moves among his four girlfriends from Monday to Saturday. "What is a simple way of loving?" he asks. "Does it mean loving one woman? I don't know what this is."

The series certainly has its share of the weird and the unlikable. In *Adultery*, Donna and Gerald, two 30-year-old Canadians who have been married for seven years, explain in detail how they arrived at a more-or-less open relationship—the man, not without being, apparently, that both agree not to stay out all night with their lovers. In the same episode, a Finnish Toronto woman explains how the fourth of her five marriages ended several years ago when her husband found out about her infidelity. Still, she says, an "ideal af-

fair has so much more going for it" than marriage—and then she reveals that she loves "to make love all the time."

Despite the weariness that it offers, as a documentary *Anatomy of Love* remains excellent. True, everyone in Part 4, for instance, has either gone through a divorce or has contemplated it, and their testimonials are both interesting and emotionally charged. But beyond that, none of these reveals much about the validity, for lack thereof, of Fisher's notion that divorce is part of a natural cycle in which marriage vows relationships end once mating are out of season.

In the end, these unfamiliar with the book might be left wondering what the point of the series is. It is hard to see, for instance, what natural selection has to do with 30-year-old Anna, who tearfully explains how her nonmarital office romance ruined her marriage and resulted in her losing custody of her children—as well as losing her lover. "Now," she says, "I don't even have the man I once thought I'd give everything for." In the face of such emotion, Fisher's otherwise bald ideas appear backed on, irrelevant, even oversimplified. Given short shift by the series, they seem merely banal.

JOE CHIDLEY

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By Deborah Ober
(Putnam/Doub, 564 pages, \$51.95)

Her brother described her as "a real homosexual, determined to be so." Her ramp rate believed she was an important feminist writer, whose published diaries reflected the struggle of a modern woman towards gender and freedom. Her acquaintances and friends found her hypocritically charming, childishly self-absorbed, ad dicted to sex, generous to other writers, and a bit of enigmatic personification. Anaïs Nin, who died in 1977 at the age of 73, was all those things and more: a bisexual, a failed novelist, a friend and lover of such famous writers as Henry Miller and André Breton, and an original personality who turned her private diary into a source of strange, continued beauty. It is probably foolish to ask which of the many faces Nin presented to the world was real. As Deborah Ober suggests in her perceptive new biography, the writer in Nin is inseparable from the pain that inspired it.

Before Ober's book, the chief source of information about Nin was Nin herself. Her diaries—the whole 18 volumes of which several have been published—read like a journal of honest self-disclosure. But the *Avantgarde* Paris, who has it so written biographies of Simone de Beauvoir and Samuel Beckett, shows that Nin constantly revisited her diaries throughout her life, often changing events drastically to cast herself in a better light. As a result, looking for her historical truth in them is like hunting for a truth in dense fog. But has turned out a good deal, by consulting Nin's various versions of events there are 250-400 handwritten diary pages in the archive, and she has searched exhaustively throughout the correspondence and contemporaries of Nin's family and acquaintances. Indeed, her portrait of Nin is probably as close to the truth as anyone is likely to get. But it should be read with the proviso that Nin lied to everyone she knew, even those she considered to have contributed everything and so thought about her ever since.

Her traces the formative tragedy of Nin's childhood to her father, Joaquín Nin, a handsome, self-centered concert pianist of Spanish background. He abused Anaïs both sexually and emotionally, but she loved him nonetheless, and when he abandoned her family in Paris in 1913, his 16-year-old daughter was wracked with grief and loneliness. She began to write long unsolicited letters to him. The writing habit became compulsive, and was

he carried about other men. Then, in 1917, the short, balding, smart Henry Miller stumbled into her life. "He's a man who makes life drink," Nin confided to her diary. "He is life." Nin not only started an affair with Miller, but she also supported him with the unassuming Hugo's money and even conducted a strange faraway French (and ending) with Miller's wife, Jane.

Miller took Nin seriously as a writer—so seriously that he stole some of her diary excerpts of him and Jane and incorporated them into his own novels. He also crushed her in her own efforts to write fiction (she would eventually publish several poorly received novels). When Nin died of Miller, she moved on to other lovers. She slept with both of her male psychoanalysts (one was the renowned Freudian Otto Rank), and in 1950 she apparently—according to an unpublished diary—conducted a torrid, two-week affair with her own father. In 1953, she married her longtime lover Roger Moore—without divorcing the long-suffering Geler, whose agony she still remembered. With Geler stationed in New York City and Los Angeles, Nin spent years living a life of transcontinental flight. At one point, her lies to both men became so complex that she kept a life she called her "her book," listing her various covering stories and the names of allies in both cities.



Nin: a fervent lover of Henry Miller, and a bisexual

But handles all this with a remarkable lack of mawkishness, a rare feminist that recognizes that simply to call Nin a victim of men would be to diminish the power of a highly creative (if highly sexualized) personality. Nin could be as bad, and worse, as any man she met, and thus, in retrospect, is part of her strange attractiveness. Like Camus's *Wife of Bath*, Nin can appear through sheer outrageousness, the disbursement of her rage to live. Her diaries were published in the 1960s, bringing her the fame she had long craved. Yet before her death she had become the successful fiction writer she had always wanted to be—except that her fiction lay between the covers of her diaries, and at the smoke and mirrors of her extraordinary life.

Josquin Nin's devotion seems to have lived in his daughter's potent fiery complex that, as the narrator, expressed itself in a compulsion to write. Her sexual explorations began conversationally enough with her husband, Hugo Geler, the broker she married in 1923. But, though devoted to Nin, Geler was physically awkward, and she began to

JOHN BARNES

A shout of defiance

GAST, WEST

By Solomon Rushdie
(Knopf, 204 pages, \$26.95)

Although Islamic gentlemen are still doing their best to God and tell him, Solomon Rushdie has managed to go on writing. His new story collection, *Rise, River*, is his first book for adults since the mullahs of Iran announced a fatwa—a call for Rushdie's death—in 1989, in punishment for alleged blasphemy against Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses*. Since then, Rushdie has lived under Scotland Yard protection, which has meant a life of touring between safe houses and making rare, unannounced public appearances. Rushdie has said that what he dislikes most about his situation is the lack of casual freedom, the impossibility of going off spontaneously to a movie or of browsing in a bookstore.

The protected life granted him made writing no easier, either. Authors need fresh experience—not necessarily to write about it directly, but to replenish their enthusiasm. Starting at the walls of a safe house can hardly be inspiring. And yet the stories in *Rise, River* most of Rushdie's is related to (mainly) to either boredom or fear. If Rushdie had fallen silent, his decade-long ordeal could claim a victory of sorts. These rare stories are a shout of defiance.

They are also, most of them, a pleasure to read. Like his great master, Charles Dickens, Rushdie goes in for encyclopedic comedy, with rich people and beggars rubbing shoulders across his pages. His language has something of Dickens's energetic verbiage, while his characters like to wear for the most part, the gaudy clothes of caricature. Rushdie has made his name writing satirical sprawling novels—both *Midnight's Children* and *The Satanic Verses* exceed 400 pages—but the stories in *Rise, River* have the careful precision of many miniatures. And of them, however their unbecomingly playful violence, ponder the impossibilities of human life.

The Prophet's Bear is probably the most provocative story for Rushdie to have published, because it focuses on religion. Hussein, a rich miser, finds a relic of the prophet Muhammad—a hair covered in silver—that has been stolen from a local



The death threat has not gagged Rushdie

Rushdie: life under protection, stories about fate

store. He decides to keep it, whereupon all sorts of strange effects occur. The ancient Hindus turn up a religious tract, hysterically trying to make his wife and children become priests like him. Eventually, several deaths and miracles result. The story could be read as an outright condemnation of religion. But a deeper reading suggests that Rushdie sees religion as a power, a moral force, which can be a source of either good or evil, depending entirely on the wisdom of its adherents.

In several stories, Rushdie's penchant for the bizarre transforms into surrealism. At *The Ashtori of the Baby Sitters* his vision of a world gone mad. The slippers of the three are the ones worn by Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz*. In Rushdie's tale they have become charged with quasi-religious significance by

the borders of desperate people who crowd a vast auction hall, vying to buy them. It is a parable about how society obscures fate and money to hide an underlying vacuum, and leaves no doubt that Rushdie feels that the materialistic West has little reason to feel morally superior to the fundamentalist East.

Drinks and weak in plot, *Sleepers* is less engaging than Christopher Columbus and Queen Isabella of Spain Commemorate Their Relationship, whose surrealism evokes a satirical scientific fictionism between the queen and the explorer. After allowing Calico to fondle her breasts, the powerful queen sends him to work in the royal pigsty. Ultimately, she drives him to the edge of madness before realizing that he alone can tell her something for conquest of the unknown world. This far-fetched story works because, on a psychological level, it reflects quite plausibly the tug-of-war between Columbus and his notoriously reluctant natives.

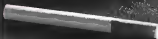
Like many comic writers, Rushdie sometimes turns sentimental whenever he gets overly serious. Aboard attempts at pathos spoil the endings of both *Good Advice Is Better than Silver* (a slight story about the education of a poor Indian street clerk for a young woman) and *The First Snake* (about a young man who has himself sacrificed in order to get a pardon from the government). But Rushdie moves fearlessly through the collection's three finest tales, *The Harpness of the Spiders*, *Chlorine and Rain* and *The Cemetery*, all of which involve characters from the Indian subcontinent living in Britain.

The most moving is *The Cemetery*, an unassuming—and, for Rushdie, realistic—portrait of unrequited love in a London apartment building during the 1960s. The unlikely hero is a British Indian porter nicknamed Mandy, a broken-down old man who turns out to be a former chess grand master. In his way, he is a paragon of gentleness and courage, standing up to thugs who threaten him to save of the building's occupants. The pathos of this story is understated and powerful, because it so subtly evokes Mandy's tragedy. *The Cemetery* also shows that the mullahs of Iran have not prevented Rushdie's development as a writer: it is his most empathetic and effective journey yet through the inside lives of the least.

JOHN HENNINGSEN

TOBACCO KILLS

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AIDS, illicit drugs,
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Tobacco kills
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NOWHERE TO HIDE.

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- Children whose parents smoke have a greater risk of disease including asthma, pneumonia and bronchitis.
- Babies exposed to second-hand smoke or whose mothers smoked during pregnancy are smaller than average. More prone to complications at delivery and are subject to an increased risk of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome.

EQUALITY OF THE SEXES?

- Now smokers are evenly split between boys and girls.
- Tobacco death rates among women are catching up with those of men.
- Lung cancer now kills more women than breast cancer. And the number of female lung cancer deaths is rising.

VIRTUALLY ALL NEW SMOKERS ARE ADOLESCENTS.

- There are about 500,000 young smokers in Canada age 15-19.
- They represent over \$200 million in sales.
- 85% start before age 16.
- Almost 30% start before age 13.
- Of all the 15-year-olds currently smoking, about one-half will die from tobacco products.

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A tale of two veterans

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

War, as General Sherman told us, is hell. Memories of war, are much with us this year with all the 50 year anniversaries—V-Day, V-J Day. Everybody has their experience of war, from after or in fact. What is intriguing is how the war affected two different men, Harry Rankin and Doug Collins.

This month marked the 50th anniversary of the famous/infamous Allied air raid on Dresden, the jewel of Saxony, a territorial target. In two days of raids—American bombers by day, the RAF by night—the city was obliterated, creating a "fire storm" that cremated perhaps 50,000 civilians and destroyed all six architectural masterpieces. Controversy reigns to this day as to why it was done with the war obviously won.

On the anniversary a letter appeared in the *Globe and Mail*. It was from a resident in Vancouver who got up at his usual time of 5 a.m.—"felt great"—and sat down with his bowl of porridge to read his *Globe*, only to discover an article by British journalist Simon Jenkins "takes one Dresden at a time." His letter continued: "I was surprised and surprised to see an infantry battalion—Scottish Highlanders from Vancouver. On Dec. 15, 1939, I went overseas to England. I stayed 20 years and later I went to Italy for two years. I was wounded, decorated and came home in 1945."

The writer says it took him 50 years to get over the thoughts of that war. "You sat a person who goes to the Legion and puts on my medals or garnets my military career. I just want to live my last remaining years without symbolic articles on atrocities, adduced to say that war is the ultimate atrocity."

Mr. Jenkins says, "Saying sorry costs nothing." Tell Mr. Jenkins I regret the war. Which Germans should I apologize to, the mothers and children and old people who died in Dresden or the soldiers leaders who started the conflict?

It is signed Gd. Harry Rankin, K33258, Vancouver.

A funny thing happened to Harry Rankin on his way back to democracy. He enrolled at



the University of British Columbia law school, graduated and tried to settle to a law firm. There seemed a problem. A product of working-class east Vancouver, Rankin was a Communist, a Marxist or whatever they called them at those days.

He was hauled before the benches of the Law Society of British Columbia. The wall of McCarthyism was in the air. The chap who had fought for his country in Europe, was searched and discredited, apparently was suspect before the justice system. The benches had previously heard one Gordon Martin for being a member of the Labor Progressive & Communist party, it being illegal at the time.

Senior lawyers finally prevailed and Harry Rankin became an official lawyer. He ran 13 times for civic office, making his unknown way up the ladder each election. Finally elected to city council in 1956, he lasted 25 years as the most elegant anti-establish-

ment councillor in town.

Today, at 78, he is "a socialist," happy in a new marriage to a much-younger socialite.

Doug Collins is the toughest man I have ever met. Product of a British working-class background, he arrived at The Vancouver Sun as a rising left-wing labor reporter. We used to have lunch together every day in the Sas Collette's and one day the subject came up he was casually mentioned that he had escaped from 10 German prisoner of war camps.

The entire table went agape, asking him why he hadn't written a book about it. His answer was that yes, he'd been thinking about it and one day he wrote. He finally did it, a fine book: *P.O.W.: A Soldier's 10 European Prisoner Camps*. The dedication was by Douglas Baden, the *London Ace*.

Collins eventually left the Sun, in part of his usual disputes with authority, and joined the CBC, ending up with a long run as commentator and interviewer at its Ottawa station. He left there, for reasons obscure, and asked his old buddy Phil if I could get him a spot back at the Sun.

Your beautiful agent answered the publisher of his great credit-card, we hired him, gave him a column—and discovered to our wild astonishment that he was now a rising right-winger, the Bush Lightning of his time. The CBC, with its bureaucracy, had turned the rising left-wing Brit laborite into a reactionary!

Collins today, reduced to the readership of a small West Vancouver weekly, has become notorious for his championship of such rats as Ernst Zundel (his most famous gig lately is to question the Holocaust, suggesting the number of victims is highly exaggerated) and expounding theories about gas chambers.

What is remarkable (assuming, to someone who used to listen to him at a cafeteria lunch every day) is that this is the man who escaped from three different stalags, whose only first while crawling away from POW camps was raw potatoes.

Kurt Vonnegut actually was in a basement prison in Dresden during the fire storm—the result of it his acclaimed novel *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Collins had a similar experience, the sergeant from the Second Gloucestershire entered once again at Brunswick after one of his rescuers as American B-24s rained bombs down on the Plavert officials to win the war while almost killing him.

Today, he defends the Nazis in his columns, suggesting they weren't quite as bad as the rest of us think.

Gd. Acting Sgt. Rankin, meet Sgt. Collins. War, as we realize, produces different reactions in men.



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